The ALABAMA REVIEW

A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History

VOL. XIII **April 1960** NO. 2

Published in co-operation with the
ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
by UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS

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Non-members may subscribe to the *Review* at four dollars per annum; single issues at one dollar each. Orders should be addressed to the University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama.

The Alabama Review is published quarterly, in January, April, July, and October, by the University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama. Entered as second class matter at the post office at University, Alabama, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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VOLUME XIII • APRIL, 1960 • NUMBER 2

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Published by UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA PRESS, *University, Alabama in co-operation with the* ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Taylor's Presidential Campaign in Alabama, 1847-1848

BY MALCOLM C. McMILLAN

WHEN GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR of Louisiana returned from the Mexican War in December, 1847, a movement to make him president of the United States was well under way in Alabama and the nation. A soldier with little education, who had won few honors in nearly four decades of active duty, Taylor found himself a national hero and presidential possibility, as news of his victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterrey, and Buena Vista reached home. One Southern editor declared that Taylor would be the next president and predicted for him a "popularity very far exceeding that of General Jackson."[1]

Early in 1847 Taylor's presidential prestige began to rise in the South. It was believed that he, a native Southerner and a slaveholder, might protect that area from the Wilmot Proviso, which had been introduced in Congress in 1846 to exclude slavery from the Mexican cession. The document focused attention on the sectional crisis, causing some leaders in both the Southern Whig and Democratic parties to consider the creation of a Southern party to save the South. On the other hand, many hoped that a candidate might be found in 1848 whose prestige and stature would transcend sectional and party lines.

Amid these circumstances the Taylor movement was born in Alabama. The press of New Orleans, widely copied

1 Mobile (Ala.) *Weekly Advertiser,* May 19, 1847 (hereinafter *Advertiser),* quoting the Savannah (Ga.) *Republican.*

in Mobile newspapers, gave the campaign its first publicity.[2] However, Taylor's popularity came from the grass roots and swept over party lines from the beginning. Charles C. Langdon, editor of the Mobile *Weekly Advertiser,* an outstanding Whig newspaper, declared on April 14, 1847 that "there is an involuntary movement throughout the whole country, by presses of both parties and of no party in favor of 'Old Rough and Ready' for the Presidency, and it is destined, we predict, to sweep the whole country." On April 26 the same newspaper quoted the New Orleans *Bee* to the effect that both parties in the North had gone anti-slavery, and that Taylor's popularity furnished a chance to place a Southern man in the presidency to protect Southern rights.

Despite the non-partisan nature of Taylor's early support in Mobile, the Whig press was more friendly from the beginning. The leading Mobile Democratic newspaper, the *Weekly Register,* soon became openly hostile.[3] The Democratic Montgomery *Tri-Weekly Flag and Advertiser* pointed out that the Whigs had denounced the Mexican War as unconstitutional and unjust, yet "now they want to reap the harvest by nominating General Taylor for President."[4] The Taylor boom in Alabama owed much to the political adeptness of the Whig leaders. As one hostile editor later declared, "In the early stages of the Taylor movement the Whigs spread their net 'to catch birds of every feather.' No partyism was their theme, and they discoursed on it eloquently and earnestly."[5]

A Mobile Rough and Ready Club for Zachary Taylor was organized in June, 1847. The first large Taylor mass meeting in Alabama followed in Mobile the next month.

2 *Ibid.,* Apr. 14, 26, May 5, 1847, quoting the New Orleans (La.) *Bulletin, Bee,* and *Delta,* respectively.
3 May 21, 1847.
4 Apr. 27, 1847 (hereinafter *Flag*).
5 *Ibid.,* Feb. 1, 1848.

Almost two hundred prominent citizens of the city, regardless of party, signed a manifesto calling a Taylor meeting in the public square.[6] Langdon pronounced this meeting "one of the largest, most harmonious and enthusiastic, that we ever witnessed in this city. The resolutions nominating General Taylor as the people's candidate for the presidency were passed unanimously amid thunders of applause." The meeting was addressed by Whigs and Democrats, but the main speech of the occasion was made by the distinguished Democrat, John A. Campbell, later an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. Campbell denounced caucuses and conventions and called on the people to take the matter of electing their rulers into their own hands. Declaring that "no man can view the present condition of relations between the northern and southern states without apprehension for the safety of our government," he urged Alabamians to unite on Zachary Taylor for the presidency in an attempt to allay the sectional struggle. He admitted that almost nothing was known of Taylor's politics. He based his appeal on Taylor's leadership as shown in the Mexican War, his Southern affiliations, and the popular support which he could command.[7] A military man, Taylor had never been affiliated with any party or voted in any presidential election. Unlike Washington, Jackson, or Harrison, all military heroes, he had never served in any civil capacity.[8]

In the Alabama gubernatorial campaign of 1847 Nicholas Davis, the Whig candidate, announced his support of Taylor for the presidency.[9] He exploited the recent record of Congressman Reuben Chapman, now the Democratic candidate for governor, who had voted in Congress to uphold

6 *Advertiser,* June 30, 1847.
7 *Ibid.,* July 7, 1847.
8 Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor: Soldier in the White House* (Indianapolis, 1941-1951), II, 52.
9 Huntsville (Ala.) *Southern Advocate,* July 2, 9, 1847 (hereinafter *Advocate*).

President James K. Polk in his struggle with his two generals, Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott. Although the Whigs denounced "Mr. Polk's Mexican War," Davis saw in the war "the workings of a kind providence in our behalf."[10] In a circular to the people of Alabama, which also appeared in the July 2 issue of the Huntsville *Southern Advocate,* he explained the workings of this providence as follows:

> If the Mexican War has exposed and made manifest the dangers which threatened the existence of our Union, it has also, I confidently hope and believe, developed in the hero of the war, the saviour of his country. In little more than a year, the whole country, has witnessed with astonishment and pride, in the character of General Taylor, much to remind us of the stern virtues and the simple grandeur of the Revolution. The public voice has already called him to the Presidential chair. He possesses, in advance, the unwavering confidence of his fellow-citizens. He is a Southern man and a slaveholder. An adaption like this, to the state of things around us, it seems to me, has occurred but rarely in the history of the world. May it prove to us, the means of deliverance from impending dangers.

Although Chapman was on the defensive in regard to Taylor during the gubernatorial campaign, some important Alabama Democrats were still considering whether to give Taylor their support. United States Senator Dixon H. Lewis wrote a letter to Balie Peyton, former Tennessee congressman and friend of Taylor's, who had recently been with him in Mexico, "in regard to certain questions in which the State Rights Party took a deep interest."[11] Peyton's reply was indefinite and evasive in tone and did not satisfy Lewis. When news of the correspondence leaked out, however, Lewis found it necessary to publish a letter explaining his course and criticizing Taylor.[12]

Although the *Advertiser* gave its support to the Taylor movement in July, 1847, Langdon soon became critical of

10 *Ibid.*, July 2, 1847.
11 *Ibid.*, July 30, 1847.
12 *Advertiser,* Oct. 27, 1847.

Taylor.[13] Time brought signs that Henry Clay wanted the Whig nomination again, and Langdon was a friend and ardent supporter of Clay.[14] As a delegate to the Whig convention in Baltimore in 1844, he had helped nominate Clay. In that year he had given him his full support in the columns of the *Advertiser* and, in addition, had published the *Clay Banner,* a Whig newspaper, for the duration of the campaign.[15] Apparently Langdon had never intended to bless the "no-partyism" of the Taylor movement.[16] He wanted Taylor to support the Whig program and this Taylor refused to do in letters to the press.[17] Although Taylor was a novice in politics, he handled his pre-convention campaign with astuteness. He wooed the independent voters, borderline Democrats, and lukewarm Whigs—all of whose support would be necessary, he knew, if he was finally to win the Whig nomination. His chief strength in the regular Whig organization was that, if it did not nominate him, he would still run as an independent, thus making it impossible for any other candidate of the Whig party, usually in the minority, to win.

During the year 1847 the closest Taylor came to identifying himself with the Whig party was in a letter he wrote to F. S. Bronson of Charleston, South Carolina on August 10: "I have never exercised the privilege of voting; but had I been called upon in the last presidential election to do so, I should most certainly have cast my vote for Mr. Clay." The Mobile *Advertiser,* in which the letter appeared, October

13 *Ibid.,* Oct. 13, 20, Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 1847.

14 *Ibid.,* Sept. 22, 1847. Clay hinted in his Lexington speech, delivered November 13, 1847, that he would run again (*ibid.,* Nov. 24, 1847). See also *Advocate,* Nov. 27, 1847 and Hamilton, II, 55.

15 *Advertiser,* March 13, May 4, 1844.

16 See editorial, *ibid.,* Oct. 13, 1847.

17 Hamilton, II, 44. In the letters Taylor wrote to the press, some while he was still in Mexico, he declined to take a stand, debate the issues, make pledges, or identify himself as a Whig or a Democrat.

13, found this statement scant satisfaction for his refusal to come out on Whig principles. Langdon called the letter "political gammon" and demanded "a frank expression of his political opinions and his party preferences."

In May, 1847 Taylor replied to a letter from the Cincinnati *Signal* which, when published in that Democratic paper, had greatly dampened Whig enthusiasm for his cause. The editor of the *Signal* had enclosed an editorial from that newspaper, which among a great many other things advocated the extension of the "no-slavery" provision of the Northwest Ordinance to the Mexican cession. The editorial also contained material hostile to Whig policies on the bank, tariff, and other issues. Taylor's reply began by saying that military duties did not allow time for him to answer such important questions, but before closing he expressed his approval of the views and sentiments contained in the editorial. Although many of Taylor's supporters in Alabama thought that the reply was a "forgery" or that Taylor had inadvertently seemed to sanction the editorial, there can be no doubt that the letter hurt his cause.[18] Had not Taylor been a large Southern slaveholder, the letter might well have proved fatal to his interest in the South, although it boosted his stock with the independent voters in the anti-slavery North. The latter may very well have been Taylor's intent. Despite the letter, few Southerners believed at this time that he was against the extension of slavery into the Southwest. However, the *Signal* letter became one of the main issues in the campaign and was used by the Democrats against him, even after he had received the Whig nomination.[19]

As the year 1847 came to a close, there was increased activity for Taylor in the interior of the State of Alabama. William B. Figures, editor of the Huntsville *Southern Advo-*

[18] *Advertiser,* July 14, 1847; Brainerd Dyer, *Zachary Taylor* (Baton Rouge, 1946), 271-272.

[19] *Advertiser,* July 14, 21, 1847, Aug. 9, 1848; *Flag,* July 13, 15, 1848.

cate, was one of the first, if not the first, Whig editor in the state to proclaim Taylors' candidacy from the head of an editorial page.[20] M. D. J. Slade, publisher of the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor,* began a campaign newspaper for Taylor on March 13, 1848. Entitled *Old Zach,* this weekly supported Taylor "as the people's candidate for the Presidency," long before the national nominating conventions.[21]

In Montgomery, the new capital, James E. Belser, former Democratic congressman, and Thomas H. Watts, an outstanding member of the Whig party, united with nine other prominent citizens in calling a large Taylor mass meeting on November 16, 1847 for the purpose of bringing out a Taylor electoral ticket in Alabama.[22] This meeting was addressed by Watts, Belser, Whig Congressman Henry W. Hilliard, and others. William L. Yancey was called for but did not address the meeting. Almost all of the speakers held forth against the Wilmot Proviso, expressing the opinion that a man of Taylor's caliber was needed to save the South from the Abolitionists and the Wilmot Proviso. Many of the speakers sounded very impractical in that they were somehow going to unite on Taylor regardless of party and elect him without the use of any of the regular channels of procedure. All party and sectional spirit would be dissolved and Taylor would be president of the whole country. Henry W. Hilliard sounded more realistic. He declared that it was well known that his first choice was Henry Clay, but that "he promptly yielded it, believing that General Taylor was the only Southern man who could be elected." He implied that he thought Taylor would be elected on the Whig ticket. The meeting resolved that it was "the duty of the South to sustain in this crisis,

[20] Jan. 15, 1848.

[21] See prospectus in *Advertiser,* March 15, 1848; Rhoda Coleman Ellison, *History and Bibliography of Alabama Newspapers in the Nineteenth Century* (University, Ala., 1954), 185.

[22] *Advertiser,* Nov. 24, 1847; *Advocate,* Dec. 4, 1847.

without distinction of party, a Southern man of the old republican school and of American feelings." A Committee of Ten was appointed to prepare an address to the people in favor of Taylor and January 8, 1848 was set as the day for a rally in Montgomery. So enthusiastic was the crowd that instead of adjourning they agreed to continue their meeting the next night.[23] The address of the Committee of Ten, calling the Montgomery meeting for Taylor, declared in calling the Montgomery meeting for Taylor, declared in part:

> It cannot longer be disguised that we are approaching a fearful crisis in our National affairs. . . . The North in the main is united against us. . . . *The past must be forgotten for the sake of the future.* Some man who has never mingled in the strife and turmoil of partisan warfare—some man whose honesty and talents and patriotism cannot be gainsaid—some man at the mention of whose name the whole nation will rally—must be selected to fill the chief place in the Council of the nation. Where can we find such a one? Need we point you to Zachary Taylor?[24]

The meeting was warmly supported by the leading Montgomery Whig newspaper, the *Alabama Journal.* It was denounced as "premature," however, by the Mobile *Advertiser,* which had now deserted Taylor in favor of Henry Clay and Whig principles. When the *Alabama Journal* chided him, Langdon admitted his support of the Taylor movement in Mobile months earlier, but declared that Taylor's refusal to express his views, his letters written promiscuously to "Tom, Dick, and Harry," and Clay's new interest in the Whig nomination justified his course in turning away from Taylor.[25] In an editorial published a week later, he concluded that "the Whig party had been *Tylerized* once—that ought to teach us all a lesson."[26]

[23] *Advertiser,* Nov. 24, 1847.
[24] *Advocate,* Dec. 4, 1847.
[25] *Advertiser,* Nov. 24, Dec. 1, 1847, quoting the Montgomery *Alabama Journal.*
[26] *Ibid.,* Dec. 8, 1847. In 1840 John Tyler, who was really a Southern Democrat,

On January 8, 1848 the mass meeting, held in the hall of the House of Representatives, was so large that it overflowed into the Senate chamber. The meeting elected James E. Belser, former congressman of Montgomery, president. Belser, Arthur F. Hopkins of Mobile, William M. Murphy of Greene County, Benjamin F. Porter of Tuscaloosa, Samuel F. Rice and Lewis E. Parsons, both of Talladega, and others addressed the assembly. Each in turn praised Taylor as the man who could unite the whole country in the impending crisis and emphasized the non-partisan nature of the meeting. Declaring the Taylor campaign a "no party movement," President Belser said that it "grew out of the hostility of the other sections of the Union to the peculiar institutions of the South."[27] A committee to conduct Taylor's campaign in Alabama was appointed as well as a committee to correspond with the General. The formation of Rough and Ready Clubs throughout Alabama was recommended. Despite the fact that Belser, a Democrat, had been elected president, many more Whigs than Democrats were in evidence at the meeting.[28]

Both Whig and Democratic newspapers denounced the Montgomery meeting. Langdon's *Weekly Advertiser* called it the "spontaneous combustion" of the "edges of both parties," and said that like a Witch's brew in *Macbeth,* it was composed of "Eye of a newt and toe of a frog, tongue of a cat and wool of dog."[29]

The Democratic *Flag and Advertiser* stated that it was a "desperate effort . . . to set on foot a movement similar in character to that of 1840. . . . In fact the whole scene might be described as 'Harrisoniana' of 1840, revised but not corrected." The editor predicted that the "canvas

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had been elected vice-president by the Whigs, only to ascend to the presidency and veto the Whig program after William H. Harrison's death in 1841.

27 *Flag,* Jan. 11, 1848.

28 *Ibid.,* Jan. 11, 12, 19, 1848.

29 Jan. 19, 1848.

tent" would replace the "log cabin" of 1840 and that instead of the "live coon" the Whigs would use as their symbol "Old Whitey," General Taylor's well known white horse. The large mass meetings, already much in evidence, were to be accompanied by "banners, music, and singing." In a later editorial the same editor declared that they dreaded the Whigs "only in ambush" as they had been in 1840 and would be again in 1848.[30]

Despite the unfavorable criticism, early in 1848 Taylor was invited to address the Democratically-controlled Alabama legislature which only a few weeks before had passed resolutions bitterly denouncing the Wilmot Proviso.[31] The invitation was issued through Governor Reuben Chapman, a Democrat, but Taylor declined it on January 5, stating that he needed to remain at his plantation in Louisiana as his leave from the army was with the understanding that "he would be ready to return to Mexico at any moment."[32] On January 23 Taylor replied to William M. Murphy, who, acting on the advice of the Montgomery mass meeting, had offered him the meeting's active support for the presidency. Taylor assured his "fellow citizens who comprised this meeting that I shall offer no active opposition to the use of my name in connection with this responsible office, as long as they continue to use it thus independent of party distinction."[33]

As the Taylor movement gained momentum in the state, Whig editors friendly to Henry Clay became frantic and much more hostile to Taylor. For example, on March 1, 1848 the Mobile *Weekly Advertiser,* quoting the Wilcox *Banner* (Camden), declared:

30 Jan. 20, May 11, 1848.
31 *Advertiser,* Jan. 19, 1848; Alabama *Acts,* 1848-1849, 451.
32 *Advertiser,* Jan. 19, 1848; *Flag,* Jan. 15, 1848. In August and September, 1848, delegations of Alabamians traveled to Mississippi to confer with Taylor (*Advertiser,* Aug. 30, Sept. 20, 1848).
33 *Ibid.,* March 21, 1848.

We desire it to be distinctly understood that we support no man for the Presidency merely because with him we can probably beat the opposing candidate—we don't run merely *to beat;* all of our feeble energies in every canvass are directed solely to the triumph of *our principles,* and with them we are ever ready to stand or fall. Henry Clay is the great champion of Whig principles, and we would rather risk him for the Presidency with twenty chances for defeat than support General Taylor or any other neutral candidate, with the highest prospect of success.

On the same day Charles C. Langdon, editor of the *Weekly Advertiser,* who wrote many bitter editorials against Taylor, predicted that, if the General were presented by the Whigs as a "neutral, independent, no-party, no principle candidate," he would "not get the vote of a single state in the Union."

On February 3, 1848 a Whig congressional caucus in Washington recommended that the Whig National Convention meet in Philadelphia on June 7, 1848 to nominate Whig candidates for president and vice-president of the United States.[34] Later that same month a caucus of more than forty Whig members of the Alabama legislature issued an address to the people, seeking to have Taylor nominated on a "no party, no national convention" basis by mass meetings or state and district conventions. They opposed sending delegates to the convention in Philadelphia, which they apparently feared they would be unable to control. Some Whig speakers expressed the fear that any national convention held at this time would "nominate a Wilmot Proviso man."[35]

Two prominent Alabama Whig newspapers, the Montgomery *Alabama Journal* and the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor,* supported this position, but most of the Whig press fought the plan from the beginning, either because they favored Clay or because they thought that Taylor could win the presidency only through the regular channel of nomina-

34 *Ibid.,* Feb. 16, 1848.
35 *Ibid.,* March 8, 1848; *Flag,* March 4, 21, 1848.

tion by a Whig national convention.[36] William B. Figures' Huntsville *Southern Advocate* denounced the "no national convention strategy" as "suicidal" to the Taylor cause and said that the Whig legislative caucus seemed to think that "Alabama alone can elect a President."[37] The Mobile *Weekly Advertiser* was the most determined opponent in the state of the "no national convention" strategy.[38] Editor Langdon promoted a great mass meeting of Mobile Whigs in order to offset the recommendations of the legislative caucus. When this meeting occurred on March 9, 1848, Langdon was made chairman of the Resolutions Committee which denounced the "no convention, no principle" strategy of the Taylor Whigs. The assembly expressed a "decided preference for Henry Clay of Kentucky" as the Whig candidate because "his steady devotion to Whig principles at all times and under all circumstances, gives assurance that in his election we should achieve no barren victory." Another resolution denounced the Mexican War.[39]

On April 10, 1848 Clay released a statement which, in effect, was an announcement of his candidacy.[40] Over seventy years of age and twice defeated for the presidency, Clay's availability was based on his popularity in Northern Whig circles, his prestige having declined in the South because of his denunciation of the Mexican War and President Polk's part in it. He had also declared "that we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire on our part to acquire any territory whatever, for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slavery from the

36 *Advocate,* March 11, 1848. For a list of Whig newspapers on each side of this issue, see *Advertiser,* Feb. 23, 1848.

37 May 11, 1848.

38 See the editorials of March 1, 15, Apr. 5, 1848.

39 *Ibid.,* March 15, 22, 1848.

40 George R. Poage, *Henry Clay and the Whig Party* (Chapel Hill, 1936), 173-174.

United States, into such foreign territory."[41] In his editorial of April 28 the Whig editor of the Montgomery *Alabama Journal* denounced Clay's "leanings toward the free states," but felt that he had probably been influenced in his Lexington speech by unprincipled Northern men.

Although the "no national convention" strategy was soon abandoned by most of the Taylor people, the confusion in Whig ranks caused by the movement was great enough to prevent the assembling of a Whig state convention or the holding of conventions in the sixth and seventh congressional districts in order to elect delegates to the Philadelphia convention. The other five districts held conventions and appointed delegates.[42] Among the more outstanding delegates were Charles C. Langdon and Dr. H. S. LeVert from the First (Mobile) District and Joseph Glover Baldwin and Robert Jemison from the Fourth (Tuscaloosa) District. John Gayle and Henry W. Hilliard, the two Alabama Whig congressmen in Washington, were appointed to represent the Second (Montgomery) District and were later agreed on by the five districts represented to cast the two votes for the state at large. The Mobile district instructed its delegates to vote for Clay, but the resolution was so worded as to leave them free to vote for another candidate on later ballots. The Montgomery representatives took a decided stand in favor of Zachary Taylor—a man who "has no purpose to accomplish, no party prospects to build up—no enemies to punish —nothing to serve but his country." Representatives of the other three districts expressed no definite preference, but their actions reflected Taylor's great popularity.[43]

41 Clay's denunciation was printed in *Advertiser,* Nov. 24, 1847; see also Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937), 388.
42 See the proceedings of these conventions in the *Advertiser,* May 3, 10, 17, 1848. Langdon's account of Alabama's representation in Philadelphia is in the June 21, 1848 issue.
43 *Ibid.,* May 3, 10, 17, June 21, 1848.

The Whig National Convention met on June 7, 1848. The Alabama delegation, most of whom had gone to Philadelphia from Mobile by sea, found the city and its hotels "crowded to overflowing." On the twelfth Joseph G. Baldwin wrote George B. Saunders that "ten thousand persons from New York alone were in the city: the streets were thronged,—Chestnut Street especially was almost walled up with men; and all seemed mad with excitement on politics. . . ."[44] When the convention assembled John M. Morehead of North Carolina, an ardent friend of Henry Clay, was elected its permanent chairman. Congressman John Gayle, delegate-at-large from Alabama and an early Taylor supporter, was made one of the vice-presidents and Charles C. Langdon, one of the secretaries.[45]

One of the most dramatic moments in the convention came just before the first ballot, when Judge Lafayette Saunders of the Louisiana delegation arose to read a statement pledging that Taylor was "a pure and unadulterated Whig."[46] From the very beginning of his campaign Taylor had refused to move completely into the Whig party. On April 20, 1848 he had written the editors of the Richmond *Republican* that he would accept the Whig nomination, if "left free of all pledges." But he had also restated the position that, as an independent candidate he would accept help from any quarter and would not "withdraw my name if Mr. Clay be the nominee of the Whig National Convention."[47] Two days later Taylor wrote his son-in-law, Captain J. S. Allison, "I am a Whig but not an ultra Whig." Knowing the Whigs' fear of the veto power of the presidency, as exercised by

44 In Saunders Collection, Sumter County Court House, Livingston, Ala.
45 See the proceedings of the convention in New Orleans *Weekly Delta,* June 19, 26, 1848 (hereinafter *Delta); Advertiser,* June 21, 1848; Burton A. Konkle, *John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866* (Philadelphia, 1922), 281-293.
46 *Advertiser,* June 21, 1848; *Delta,* June 19, 26, 1848; Hamilton, II, 92.
47 Quoted in *Advertiser,* May 17, 1848.

Andrew Jackson and John Tyler, he also promised in this letter that if he were elected president he would not use the veto power "except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste and want of due consideration by Congress."[48] Thus, when the convention met, Taylor had made promises to the Whigs but had not moved completely into their camp. Now, at this crucial point in its proceedings, Taylor's Louisiana delegates decided that he should further identify himself with the party and its convention. Judge Saunders' statement declared that Taylor had not nominated himself and, hence, only his friends who had nominated him could withdraw his name from the convention. By the act of uniting with the convention, said the declaration, "his friends withdraw his name from the canvass unless he be the nominee of the convention."[49]

This statement had a profound effect on many of the delegates, including most of those from Alabama. For many it removed the last barrier to the support of Taylor. Baldwin, who had been for Clay at his district convention in Alabama, now recorded his reaction to this event and other developments at the convention by writing Saunders as follows on June 12:

> The old hero, if before he was thought to be equivocal by any, was now in my opinion, at least, fully *Whigged.* But if these things were not sufficient, of themselves, to induce my support of Gen. Taylor, subsequent disclosures left no question as to the propriety and obligation of that course. It was early ascertained that Mr. Clay had no prospect of the nomination, and he had no prospect of the nomination because he had no prospect of election. That he could not be elected was evident: it was too palpably so to be denied. The state of Kentucky was—by a majority of her delegates—against him: the Tennessee delegates, who had fought for him the hardest, longest,

[48] Hamilton, II, 79-81; *Delta,* June 19, 1848.
[49] *Advertiser,* June 21, 1848; *Delta,* June 19, 26, 1848.

bravest battles in the Union, declared he could not get the vote of that state.[50]

During the first day's proceedings the convention turned down the request of some Alabama delegates to allow alternates from represented Alabama districts to cast ballots for the two unrepresented districts. The Mobile delegation, knowing that this would only increase Taylor's strength, opposed the move.[51] Alabama thus had only seven of its possible nine votes in the convention—each state having as many possible votes as it had presidential electors. The majority of each district's delegation determined how the vote of each district should go in the convention.[52]

On June 8, 1848, when the first ballot came in Philadelphia, all of Alabama's delegations, except Charles C. Langdon's from the Mobile district, voted for Taylor. Alabama voted six for Taylor and one for Clay on all balloting until Taylor was nominated on the fourth ballot. It cast no votes for Winfield Scott, Daniel Webster, John M. Clayton, or John McLean, all of whom were placed in nomination and received ballots. Taylor's victory was largely a triumph for the South, whose delegates gave him 106 of the 171 votes with which he was nominated on the fourth ballot. On the fourth and final ballot Scott received 63, Clay 32, and Webster 14.[53] As a Louisiana slaveholder, Taylor was unacceptable to most of the free state delegates. Only 66 of the 169 delegates from the non-slaveholding states voted for Taylor, even

50 See Malcolm C. McMillan (ed.), "Joseph Glover Baldwin Reports on the Whig National Convention of 1848," *Journal of Southern History,* XXV, 366-382 (Aug., 1959).

51 *Advertiser,* June 21, 1848. On the other hand, the convention allowed the pro-Taylor Louisiana delegation to cast the four votes of unrepresented Texas and the lone Taylor delegate from Arkansas to cast the three votes of that state. South Carolina's two delegates were not allowed to cast the other seven votes of that state (Hamilton, II, 90-91).

52 McMillan (ed.), XXV, 369 (Aug., 1959).

53 *Delta,* June 19, 26, 1848.

on the final ballot.[54] Baldwin wrote: "It became apparent that the objection to Taylor on the part of our Northern and Western friends, was not so much that he was not orthodox as to Whig principles as that he was sure to be against them on the slave question. . . . This question of the Wilmot Proviso is popular in the free States. . . ."[55] In an effort to placate Northern Whigs, Millard Fillmore was nominated for the vice-presidency over Abbott Lawrence, the Lowell textile manufacturer, whom most Southern delegates preferred.[56]

Despite the fact that Clay received only one of Alabama's votes and four from other Southern states on the final ballot, Clay seems to have still been idolized by many Southern Whigs. The decision in Philadelphia was made on the basis of availability. Taylor could be elected and Clay could not. As Baldwin expressed it in his June 12 letter to Saunders,

> Could Mr. Clay have been elected, a large majority—indeed I suppose, nearly all the Taylor men would have gone for him. Nothing but the fixed persuasion that defeat was inevitable with his name on our banner, induced the delegates to discard him for another. It could not be otherwise. The name of Henry Clay was never dearer to the Whigs of the Union than when on the 9th day of June, 1848, their delegates in the National Convention cast their votes for Zachary Taylor for the President of the U. S. They loved their old leader with a proud and deep affection—a sort of political first love, which they can never cherish for mortal man again.

A few days before the Whigs nominated Taylor in Philadelphia, the Democrats had met in Baltimore and nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan for the presidency. Anticipating the nomination of Taylor by the Whigs, the Democrats nominated William O. Butler of Kentucky, who had been second

54 Dyer, 283.
55 Baldwin to Saunders, June 12, 1848. See n. 44, above.
56 Hamilton, II, 95-96.

in command to Taylor at Monterrey, for the vice-presidency.[57] William L. Yancey of Alabama, a member of the Platform Committee, precipitated the most bitter fight in the convention, when he attempted to get the principles of his Alabama Platform substituted for the majority report of the committee, which favored "popular sovereignty."[58] The Alabama Platform denounced the Wilmot Proviso, repudiated the principle of popular sovereignty, and proclaimed the view that it was the duty of the Federal government to protect slavery in the territories. Under the spell of Yancey's oratory, the Alabama Democratic State Convention had adopted the platform without a dissenting vote. However, in Baltimore under the leadership of John A. Winston, who like Yancey was a delegate-at-large from Alabama, the Alabama delegates with one exception deserted Yancey in his attempt to have the convention go on record against "popular sovereignty," a doctrine originated by Cass himself. The convention voted 216 to 36 against the adoption of Yancey's minority report.[59]

In a speech at the National Democratic Convention Yancey declared that Alabama "sent us here instructed 'under no political necessity whatever' to support any man for office who entertains opinions on the slavery question such as are entertained by your nominee. He [Cass] has no personal influence in Alabama. He was the last man her delegation would have voted for." Later in the same speech he warned his fellow Democrats:

> I am asked, will you vote for a Whig in preference? In the language of my instructions I reply, 'under no political necessity whatever' will I vote for a man holding erroneous views on this issue. If a Whig run no better than General Cass thousands in Alabama

[57] William R. King, supported by the entire Alabama delegation, received only 26 votes out of the 294 cast for the vice-presidency on the first ballot.
[58] *Advertiser*, June 7, 1848; *Flag*, June 13, 20, 22, 1848.
[59] John W. DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (Birmingham, 1892), 212-221; Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama* (University, Ala., 1934), 200-201.

will remain at home. If a candidate is offered, holding sound views on this issue, no matter what his other political opinions, thousands of the Democrats there will support him. I am not one of those who think that it is all of life to live. Office has no charms to seduce me from my duty—a minority no fears to deter me from doing it.[60]

After the return of the delegates from Baltimore, a bitter fight ensued in Alabama within the ranks of the Democrats and the party was split—Yancey's group would take nothing less than his Alabama Platform and the conservatives wished to compromise and settle the great national issue within the party. Both sides defended their action in writing and in speeches before the Alabama electorate. The bolters denounced Yancey and were supported by most of the Democratic newspapers within the state. In a lengthy pamphlet and from the stump Yancey defended his position, bitterly denounced the bolters, and decried the faithlessness to the South of Southern Democrats.[61]

Yancey considered organizing a Southern Rights party, but was persuaded not to by Senator Dixon H. Lewis.[62] Yancey wrote John C. Calhoun on June 14 that, "I honestly conceive that we would do well for our country, if by creating a third party, it would secure, in the event of our failure to grasp victory, success to the Whigs."[63] Lewis himself was not happy about the nomination of Cass and took no active part in the campaign. According to John A. Campbell, Lewis could not afford to oppose Cass, since he had promised North Alabama Democratic legislators in order to gain their support in the close senatorial contest in which he defeated William R. King in December, 1847, that he would "abide a National Convention for the selection of a candidate *preferring* a

60 *Flag*, June 13, 1848.
61 *Ibid.*, June 20, 22, 24, July 15, 1848; Moore, 200-201; DuBose, 221-227.
62 *Ibid.*, 225.
63 Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks (eds.), "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1929* (Washington, 1930), 441.

Northern Man."[64] Yancey refused to support Cass but did not support Taylor, as did James E. Belser, Samuel F. Rice, John A. Campbell, and others. These South Alabama Democrats were convinced that for the present at least the "Mountain Democracy" of North Alabama had gained control of the Democratic party of the state and would continue to cooperate with Northern Democrats. Under these circumstances they preferred Taylor to their own party's ticket and platform. Many normally Democratic voters supported Taylor in Montgomery, Lowndes, and other South Alabama counties.[65]

According to the Eufaula (Ala.) *Shield,* Yancey was joined in his position of "neutralism" or abstaining from voting by a considerable group of influential Democrats, including George Goldthwaite, Percy Walker, and John A. Elmore.[66] This dissension within the Democratic party greatly encouraged the Taylor supporters in Alabama. The Whigs had never carried the state in a gubernatorial or presidential election, but it seemed that 1848 might be their year.

The campaign, fought out in the summer and fall of 1848, was filled with assertions and arguments as to which ticket would be better for Southern interests. Since Martin Van Buren was the candidate of the Free Soil party in 1848, the former close association of Cass and Van Buren was a liability which the Democrats would have to overcome. Whig newspapers wrote editorials against Cass, entitled "Mr. Cass' Northern Face." Alabama Democrats claimed that Northern

[64] Campbell to Calhoun, Dec. 20, 1847, in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1899* (Washington, 1900), II, 1152; DuBose, 225. During the campaign Lewis went to New York to address a free trade convention and died there on October 25, 1848.

[65] *Flag,* July 13, 15, 25, August 8, 12, Sept. 21, 1848. According to the last, Campbell, who had not actively supported Taylor since his nomination by the Whig convention, would vote for Taylor.

[66] Quoted in *ibid.,* Sept. 21, 1848.

Democrats were sounder on the slavery question than Northern Whigs. Alabama Whigs denied the charge and asserted that Taylor, a Southern slaveholder, was sound on the issue, whereas Lewis Cass had been a Wilmot Proviso man and was now against Southern interests in standing on "popular sovereignty."[67]

In order to make it acceptable to Southern interests, some Alabama Democratic newspapers defined "popular sovereignty" to mean that slavery could not be abolished by the people of a territory prior to a constitutional convention for statehood.[68] The acceptance of this definition would wipe out the rift in the Alabama Democracy as this was exactly the position taken by Yancey in his Alabama Platform. Arguments to this effect in the press were singularly non-convincing, however, since Lewis Cass himself, the originator of "popular sovereignty," had written A. O. P. Nicholson of Tennessee in 1847 that the people of the territory could at any time abolish slavery.[69]

As the Whigs adopted no platform and Taylor was a Southern slaveholder without a political record, the Whigs argued from a somewhat stronger position on the territorial question, but their side also had its weaknesses. The letter which Taylor had written to the Cincinnati *Signal* (in which he seemed to condone an editorial in that paper advocating the extension of the "no slavery" provisions of the Northwest Ordinance to the Mexican cession) continued to plague the Whigs. However, they produced and published a private letter

67 *Advertiser,* July 22, Aug. 30, Sept. 1, 16, 1848; *Flag,* Sept. 23, 26, 1848; *Advocate,* June 17, Aug. 12, 1848.

68 *Flag,* July 8, 29, 1848. Although they supported Cass and Fillmore, the editors of the Mobile *Register,* Tuscaloosa *Observer,* Talladega *Watchtower,* Greensboro *Beacon,* Jacksonville *Republican,* Florence *Gazette,* and Eufaula *Democrat* stated that slavery could not be abolished at any time before a constitutional convention called for statehood. Not all of these editors, however, thought that this was a definition of "popular sovereignty" (*ibid.,* July 29, 1848).

69 Edward Channing, *A History of the United States* (New York, 1925), VI, 153-154.

written by Taylor to one of the editors of the Tuscaloosa *Independent Monitor* in which he denied that he had intended to take this position. The letter, a masterpiece of political evasion, led the Montgomery *Flag and Advertiser* to charge that Taylor was trying to sit on two stools in regard to the Wilmot Proviso: "one stool in Cincinnati . . . and another in Alabama; both stools being different in quality as well as color."[70] The same editorial quoted the Boston *Atlas* to the effect that it had "assurances that General Taylor was opposed to the extension of slavery." It was pointed out that as Taylor had taken strong ground against the President using the veto power to thwart the will of the people as expressed by a majority of Congress, he could hardly veto the Wilmot Proviso.

In fact, the veto power of the executive was one of the main issues throughout the campaign. Jackson's excessive use of the veto power and Tyler's vetoes of Whig measures were recent issues at this time. As Taylor was a complete novice in politics, many Whigs feared his opposition to party measures. In order to allay this fear, Taylor declared himself in his pre-convention campaign as opposed to the use of the veto, except in rare cases. After Taylor's nomination, Whigs supported his position on the veto and Democrats denounced it.[71] The *Alabama Journal* called the veto "an anomaly in republicanism."[72] On the other hand, the Montgomery *Flag and Advertiser* declared: "The South will scarcely lend herself to the election of a military chieftain, who will strike down the veto power, whatever be the character of the measure which may be passed by Congress."[73]

Millard Fillmore, the Whig vice-presidential candidate, was definitely a liability to the Whigs in Alabama. As chair-

[70] *Flag,* July 13, 1848; see also, *ibid.,* June 29, 1848.
[71] *Ibid.,* July 15, Sept. 5, 1848; *Advocate,* Aug. 12, 1848.
[72] Quoted in *Advertiser,* Sept. 21, 1848.
[73] *Ibid.,* Aug. 31, 1848.

man of the Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives, he had promoted the high tariff of 1842. As the *Flag and Advertiser* declared, June 15, "If General Taylor has no politics, Fillmore has enough to make amends for both . . . he is the embodiment of Whiggery." Alabama Democrats charged that Fillmore was a New York Abolitionist, and since Fillmore's congressional record reflected his opposition to slavery, the Whigs remained silent on Fillmore when possible. On the other hand, the Democratic press tried to keep Fillmore before the people. A typical editorial in the *Flag and Advertiser,* July 29, reminded its readers that, "If the head of the Whig ticket is elected, the tail will also be elected." It was pointed out by Democratic papers that, as a member of Congress, Fillmore had spoken and voted against slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1847 he had been nominated for comptroller of New York by a Whig state convention which had also endorsed the Wilmot Proviso. According to the same editor, he had been elected "Comptroller of New York by 40,000 votes, getting all of the Whig votes and those of the Wilmot Proviso Democrats."[74]

After Fillmore's nomination, James E. Belser resigned as an elector on the Whig ticket in Alabama rather than cast his vote for him for vice-president, although he continued his active support of Taylor. In his letter of resignation he declared that he believed Fillmore "to be a firm and unyielding supporter of the Wilmot Proviso."[75] This blow to the Whig cause was somewhat offset by a personal correspondence during the last months of the campaign between Fillmore and Mobile Whig Congressman John Gayle, in which the latter expressed his personal support of Fillmore.[76] Ironi-

[74] *Ibid.,* July 15, 1848. See also *ibid.,* June 15, 20, July 8, 27, 29, 1848.
[75] *Ibid.,* June 22, 1848. See also *ibid.,* Aug. 8, 12, 1848; *Advertiser,* Aug. 9, 16, 30, 1848.
[76] *Ibid.,* July 31, Aug. 31, Sept. 6, 1848.

cally, time would prove that both Taylor and Fillmore were opposed to the extension of slavery, but that Fillmore was more of a moderate in his opposition than Taylor.

As the campaign proceeded, it became apparent that the Whigs were using many of the tactics of 1840, but that the 1848 election was by no means a repeat performance, as the Democrats charged. Again the Whigs had no platform and were running a military hero for president, but much of the ballyhoo and buffoonery of the 1840 campaign was missing. The Whig party had "grown up" in Alabama and seemed to sense the possibility of victory. Many talented leaders, which this, the broadcloth party of Alabama never lacked, worked incessantly for the Whig ticket. Nicholas Davis, Arthur F. Hopkins, James L. Pugh, Henry W. Hilliard, John Gayle, Thomas H. Watts, Benjamin F. Porter and William M. Murphy, all spoke at many points in the state for Taylor and Fillmore.[77]

North Alabama Democrats, including Edward A. O'Neal, Nathaniel Terry, Clement Claiborne Clay, David C. Humphreys, and Jeremiah Clemens worked hard for Cass and Butler.[78] In this region the Democratic ticket was much more acceptable to party membership than in South Alabama. Democratic leadership looked to heavily Democratic North Alabama and especially to the "Avalanche" counties of Northeast Alabama to keep Alabama in the Democratic camp. Whig hopes for victory lay in not only carrying the usual citadels of Whiggery in South Alabama and the rich river valleys of the state but also in securing normally Democratic votes from other sections. In an editorial on July 4, 1848 the Montgomery *Flag and Advertiser* admitted that previous Democratic majorities in Alabama, which had never gone Whig, might be reduced but predicted that "the Democracy

[77] *Ibid.*, June 28, August 23, Sept. 6, 1848; *Flag*, July 15, 29, Aug. 1, 3, 15, 24, 26, Sept. 5, 21, 1848.
[78] *Ibid.*, June 24, July 20, Aug. 1, Sept. 28, 1848.

of the Avalanche region" would carry the state for Cass and Butler.

In the meantime, in South Alabama John A. Winston, John Gill Shorter, A. B. Moore, W. A. Beene, James M. Calhoun and other Democrats were working hard to hold back the tide of revolt in that area.[79] Some of the leaders, including James M. Calhoun, the nephew of the great Calhoun, carried the Cass and Butler banner, reluctantly at first but as time passed with more enthusiasm. In an effort to bolster Democratic strength in South Alabama, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois made a major campaign speech in Montgomery. His theme was that the South had "not so much to fear from a Northern man as a Southern, because it would not vote for a Northern man until he pledged himself explicitly on the territorial question, while it took a Southern man on trust." On the other hand, he assured his listeners that Taylor had given private pledges on the same issue to Northern Whig leaders, because without them a "Southern man could not get Northern Whig votes."[80] In the midst of all this Democratic activity, the greatest Alabama Democrat of all, William L. Yancey, having spoken his mind, remained ominously silent as the campaign came to an end.

On election day, November 7, 1848, Cass carried Alabama by 881 votes, but Taylor carried eight of the fourteen Southern states, including usually Democratic Louisiana and Georgia. In others, notably Mississippi and Virginia, Cass's majority was almost as close as in Alabama.[81] Taylor secured enough votes in the North, including crucial New York, where Democrats were split by the Barnburner-Hunker feud, to win in the electoral college by 163 to 127 votes for Cass.[82]

79 *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, Sept. 28, Oct. 14, 1848.
80 *Ibid.*, July 8, 1848.
81 See election returns by counties in *Whig Almanac and United States Register, 1849* (New York, 1849), 52-58; Hamilton, II, 132-133.
82 The rift in the Democratic party in New York, caused by the secession of the

This presidential election in Alabama proved to be the closest in Alabama history. In 1836, in the states' rights Democratic revolt against Martin Van Buren to Judge Hugh L. White of Tennessee, Van Buren carried the state by 4,894 votes. In 1840, in the "log cabin" campaign between William Henry Harrison and Van Buren, the Democrats won the state by 5,520 votes.[83] In both elections, as in 1848, North Alabama kept Alabama in the Democratic column but the margin of difference was much greater. In 1848 Taylor carried five more Alabama counties than did Cass and rolled up majorities in all but five of the counties south of the mountains. Only very large Democratic majorities in the "Avalanche" counties gave Cass the electoral vote of Alabama.[84] Pro-Union Democrats of North Alabama "saw no danger in Cass, and, being accustomed to party drill, supported him as the party nominee."[85] In this election, with the rift in the Democratic party and a very popular candidate who could secure normally Democratic votes, the Whig party in Alabama reached the peak of its power. Economic, geographic, and social forces, beyond the control of any politician, would continue to operate in the future as they had in the past to keep Alabama in the Democratic column until after the Civil War.

Barnburners, culminated in the nomination of Martin Van Buren on the Barnburner-Free Soil ticket and the defeat of Cass in New York by Taylor (Hamilton, II, 98, 120, 133).

83 *Politicians Register for 1841: A Compilation of Return of Votes for 1840* (New York, 1841), 18; *Whig Almanac . . .* , 52. Moore, 171, 175, 201. In 1844 James K. Polk carried Alabama by a majority of more than 11,000 votes over Henry Clay.

84 See election returns by counties in *Whig Almanac . . .* , 52. The "Avalanche" counties were DeKalb, Jackson, Madison, Marshall, and St. Clair, all in the Sixth Congressional District.

85 Moore, 201.

Oscar W. Underwood: a Fledgling Politician

By EVANS C. JOHNSON

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD'S older half-brother, William Thompson Underwood, familiarly known as W. T., moved to Birmingham, Alabama in 1881, and in 1882 became associated with Henry F. DeBardeleben, a fabulous entrepreneur, in building the Mary Pratt Furnace. As manager of the company, W. T. gave Oscar summer employment as a locomotive fireman, a job which he held until his return to the University of Virginia, which he had entered the year before to study law. Upon leaving the institution in the summer of 1884, Oscar returned to his home town of St. Paul, Minnesota and was admitted to the bar.[1] However, shortly afterwards he received a letter from his half-brother, urging him to come to Birmingham, a real estate boom town where there were good opportunities for lawyers. Most important of all, W. T., who was a director of the First National Bank, the Birmingham Trust and Savings Company, and the North Birmingham Street Railroad Company, manager of the Mary Pratt Furnace Company and owner of an interest in coal fields in Etowah County,[2] offered Oscar his help in developing a clientele.

1 In "Oscar W. Underwood: an Aristocrat from the Bluegrass" *(Alabama Review,* X, 184-203, July, 1957) this writer described the youthful years of the man who was to represent the Birmingham District in Congress from 1895 until his elevation to the Senate in 1915. Born in Louisville, Ky., he moved to St. Paul, Minn. with his parents at the age of three and in 1875 returned to Louisville, where he attended Rugby School for Boys. See also "Childhood," a typewritten note (in Underwood Papers, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery). Unless otherwise indicated, all manuscripts cited are in this collection.

2 Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (Birmingham, 1920), 306-

Oscar accepted the offer, moved to Birmingham, and by September 1, 1884 had been admitted to the bar by the Alabama Supreme Court.[3]

When Oscar Underwood arrived in Birmingham in 1884, the bustling, bragging, dirty little mining town of some five thousand inhabitants was in the midst of an iron boom. Already it was calling itself the "Magic City."[4] With little of the atmosphere of other communities of Alabama, it was a frontier town in the New South, rough and crude, with more of a Western than a Southern atmosphere.[5] Everyone predicted a great future for the area—the only one where all the raw materials for the manufacture of pig iron—coal, ore, and limestone—were located in close proximity.[6]

Soon after his arrival, Underwood joined James J. Garrett, a Confederate veteran, and Major Ellis Phelan, the secretary of state of Alabama, in the firm of Garrett, Underwood, and Phelan.[7] Major Phelan soon retired, and the firm became Garrett and Underwood, with offices in the First National Bank Building,[8] a three-story "skyscraper" at First

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308; John W. DuBose, *History of Jefferson County and Birmingham, Alabama* (Birmingham, 1887), 449-450.

3 Unpublished manuscript by Marian E. Martin.

4 Armes, 232.

5 Author's interview with O. W. Underwood, Jr., Nov. 24, 1951.

6 Martha C. Mitchell, "Birmingham: Biography of A City of the New South" (unpublished thesis, University of Chicago, 1946), 21-33, 60-63.

7 Birmingham *News,* Nov. 1, 1903; Birmingham City Court, Chancery Docket, I, 4, 5, 20 (Jefferson County Courthouse, Birmingham, Ala.) All court records hereinafter referred to are found in the old record room of this courthouse, except those designated "Probate Court," which are found in the basement of the same building.

8 *Richards' Directory of Birmingham* (Birmingham and Montgomery, 1886), 174; Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), IV, 1355. By 1901 Robert H. Thach had been added to the firm. In the same year there is a reference to Underwood's membership in the United States Supreme Court bar. See *News,* July 17, 1901 and J. Q. Cohen to Underwood, Jan. 18, 1901. In April, 1902 a new firm was formed of James Weatherly, Underwood, and Thach. By 1905 the firm was Underwood and Thach, but Oscar Underwood, Jr. thinks that his father did not practice after 1910. See Birmingham *Times,* Apr. 4, 1902, and Oscar Underwood, Jr. to the author, Sept. 26, 1959.

Avenue North and Twentieth Street, known as "Linn's Folly."[9] The Garrett and Underwood offices were evidently spacious, for they were able at least once to accommodate the monthly meeting of the Birmingham Police Commission.[10]

Underwood received a financial start in Birmingham from his older half-brother, W. T., and his wife, Marinda (or "Rin"), who was Oscar Underwood's half-sister.[11] In 1887 the couple gave Oscar a tract of land on Nineteenth Street and Tenth Avenue, now in downtown Birmingham. Within four years Oscar and his wife sold this tract in three parcels for $9,150.[12]

Underwood was soon involved in a variety of business enterprises. In 1886 or 1887 he was an organizer of the Birmingham Fire Brick Works, capitalized at $50,000. He was also secretary of this company. He was listed on August 4, 1887 as one of four incorporators of the Peoples Savings Bank, which had $50,000 capitalization, but there is no evidence that this organization materialized. In 1889 he was an organizer and director of the Garrett Spoke and Handle Company, a corporation largely owned by Garrett, to which Underwood subscribed only one $100 share. In 1890 Underwood was an incorporator of the Alabama Building and Loan Association, which had a capitalization of $2,000,000.[13]

Oscar W. Underwood's participation in the incorporation of the Garrett, Underwood Abstract Company on January 2, 1890 was far more important to him than his other

9 Armes, 372; Mitchell, 22.

10 Birmingham *Age-Herald,* Oct. 10, 1892.

11 W. T. and Oscar Underwood had the same father and Oscar Underwood and Marinda Wilder had the same mother. Thus, W. T. and "Rin" were half-brother and half-sister to Oscar Underwood, although they (the W. T. Underwoods) were themselves unrelated prior to their marriage.

12 Deed Book 87, pp. 90, 305; Book 111, p. 41; Book 156, p. 156 (Probate Court).

13 Corporation Record A, 290-292; Corporation Record B, 303; Corporation Record C, 358, 359, 361; Corporation Record C, 42 (Probate Court). Corporation regulations were lax at this time and capitalization papers were not indicative of real values.

corporate activities. This land abstract company was capitalized at $10,000, of which Underwood subscribed $4,900, Garrett, $5,000, and Harry W. Hyde, the secretary and treasurer, $100. The stock was paid for by transfer of the stockholders' interest in Sisson's American System of Abstracts.[14] Garrett was a specialist in land titles and presumably did much of the work, but there is ample evidence of Underwood's handwriting in the property records of the period.[15]

One may infer from Garrett's specialization in title work that Underwood did much of the courtroom practice. The firm handled a variety of civil work, but evidently no criminal cases. While most of their clients were individuals, the firm handled some work for corporations, such as the First National Bank, DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company, and the North Birmingham Street Railroad Company, perhaps his most important client.[16]

Underwood won his first major courtroom victory in the case of John A. Hambleton and Company of Baltimore *vs.* the Decatur Land Improvement and Furnace Company in January, 1890. Underwood sued the latter in Federal court in Huntsville for $40,000, plus interest. He pitched his argument on a decision in a similar case made by the opposition lawyer, Robert Coman Brickell, who was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Alabama. After several days of sustained argument in which Underwood single-handedly argued the case, involving an interpretation of new Federal laws, the court gave a judgment for all that Underwood asked. The defendant made bond for appeal, but the judgment was then settled out of court, presumably for somewhat less than face value.[17]

14 Corporation Record B, 268-271 (Probate Court).

15 David P. Anderson, Lawyers Title Insurance Corporation, Birmingham, Ala., to the author, Sept. 8, 1959.

16 Birmingham City Court, Chancery Docket, I, 131; II, 30, 114, 144, 158.

17 Federal Records Center, Case No. 1477, Record Box 28572, East Point, Ga.; clipping (presumably from the *Age-Herald)* in Frederica Virginia Underwood's box; Oscar W. Underwood, Jr. to the author, Sept. 26, 1959.

One case of Garrett and Underwood appears in the Alabama Supreme Court *Reports* of 1890. Through demurrers in Birmingham Chancery Court the Garrett and Underwood firm successfully defended their client, J. A. Van Hoose, against individual liability for some $48,000 in debts owed by the client's corporation, Birmingham Warehouse and Elevator Company, to the Elyton Land Company. The Supreme Court, however, reversed the decision and remanded the case to the lower court.[18]

In 1912 Ralph W. Silver, a reporter for the Birmingham *Age-Herald,* assessed Underwood's legal ability in these words:

> Young lawyer Underwood didn't spring into the limelight, he didn't win any sensational case, and he didn't display any extraordinary traits of genius. He just worked. He soon built up a reputation for honesty, thoroughness, and fairness. When young Underwood argued a case in court the matter was presented in a clear, concise manner. He did not say one man was a criminal and another man was a saint just because they were on opposite sides in a law suit and one happened to be his client. He was square. It was fairly shone out of the man that he was asking for a square deal in a square way and for square reasons. He made friends by the wholesale, and when he made one he never lost him. His mind and reasoning powers were well-balanced and he always based his arguments on cold facts and hard statistics and did not fly off into passionate appeals to sentiment.[19]

Underwood lived with his brother, W. T., at 2930 Highland Avenue, and after his marriage in 1885 this arrangement was continued. In 1890, however, he and his wife purchased

[18] John W. Shepherd (ed.), *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Alabama, During the November Term, 1890* (Montgomery, 1892), 407-427.

[19] "Oscar Underwood: the Man of the Hour," Jan. 14, 1912. Oscar Underwood, Jr., a retired member of the law faculty of the University of Virginia, recalls that his father liked the celebrated trial manual of Joseph Wesley Donovan, *Tact in Court* (Rochester, 1899). His father, he said, "had very sound ideas about trial strategy, one of which was that, when a lawyer has presented a point upon which he should win, he should rest his case and await the result.... He was certainly a good lawyer, well trained, careful, with a deep sense of responsibility" (Oscar Underwood, Jr. to the author, Sept. 26, 1959).

from J. C. Kyle and wife a house and lot at 3398 Lower Highland Avenue for $5,400.[20] The purchase may well have been in anticipation of the arrival of a second child, Oscar, Jr., who was born on July 27, 1890.

Underwood participated in many civic affairs in Birmingham. He was secretary of the Birmingham Bar Association, evidently at the time of its formation in 1885.[21] In May, 1887 he was one of three inspectors appointed by the probate judge to supervise an incorporation election for the town of Highland, now the South Highland section of Birmingham.[22] Around 1889 he joined the Knights of Pythias and, sometime later, he served as chancellor of Jones Valley Lodge Number 11. It was at this time that he joined the Elks. In 1893 he served on the Committee on Legislation of the Birmingham Commercial Club.[23]

The struggling young lawyer suffered financial reverses in the panic of 1892, and in August of that year he and his wife mortgaged their house for $3,000.[24] The Mary Pratt Furnace, in which his half-brother had long been interested, remained idle much of the time, and in 1898 it was sold for a fraction of its cost.[25] Meanwhile, in 1893 Eugene Underwood, Oscar's father, had died in insolvency in Bowling Green, Kentucky.[26]

The panic of 1893 almost coincided with Oscar W. Underwood's entry into politics, and his family's financial reverses may well have influenced him to enter public life.

Underwood had served inconspicuously for several years as a member of the District Democratic Congressional Com-

20 Deed Book 138, p. 374 (Probate Court).
21 George M. Cruikshank, *History of Birmingham and Its Environs* ... (Chicago, 1920), I, 213.
22 Corporation Record B, 180-182 (Probate Court).
23 *News*, Oct. 27, 29, Nov. 3, 1913; *Age-Herald*, May 27, 1893.
24 Mortgage Book 175, p. 87 (Probate Court).
25 Joseph H. Woodward, II, *Alabama Blast Furnaces* (Birmingham, 1940), 100.
26 W. T. Underwood to Oscar Underwood, Aug. 23, 1907.

mittee, but in 1892 he emerged as a delegate-at-large to the Alabama State Democratic Convention which renominated Thomas Goode Jones for governor. As chairman of the Credentials Committee, Underwood seems to have served as a healing element in the party. His majority report recommended that the delegation from Bibb County be seated, although this so-called Adams delegation was composed of former followers of Reuben F. Kolb, who was now the Populist candidate for governor. The majority report was accepted and the convention launched on an harmonious note, when the leader of the Adams faction paid tribute to the convention for seating him.[27]

The spectacular growth of Birmingham gave Alabama a new congressman in 1892, and the legislature gerrymandered Jefferson County into the new Ninth District with Bibb and Blount and two Black Belt counties, Hale and Perry. These latter counties were almost solidly Democratic and were expected to offset Republican majorities in Jefferson, Blount, and Bibb. Hale was the home of Congressman Lewis W. Turpin of the old Fourth District, and he naturally expected to become congressman from the new Ninth District.

Birmingham Democrats, especially a young and vigorous group led by Underwood, were reluctant to accept Turpin, a Black Belt Democrat, as their nominee. The convention for the Ninth Congressional District met in September, and Underwood, as a member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, attempted to block the nomination of Turpin for Congress. Underwood presented a minority report, recommending a return to the two-thirds rule. He argued that the majority rule had only recently been adopted, that it fostered discord, and that the two-thirds rule was the standard of democracy. The convention vote of 33 to 30 against the two-thirds rule prophesied the nomination of Turpin over the

[27] *Age-Herald,* June 9, 10, 1892.

"favorite-son" candidates of Jefferson and Blount counties.

Despite his opposition to Turpin's nomination, Underwood was unanimously elected chairman of the Congressional Executive Committee, which managed Turpin's campaign as well as the fortunes of Cleveland and Stevenson. The Democrats won the district handily with a majority that was greater than that of any other Alabama congressional district. The Birmingham *Age-Herald* of November 10, 1892 saluted Underwood's generalship and observed that he had devoted his whole time and energy to the campaign.

By 1894 the feeling that Birmingham should furnish the Ninth District congressman had become stronger and Underwood, urged on by Edward K. Campbell and other energetic young Democrats, decided to make the race. Another Birmingham man, Frank P. O'Brien, was prominently mentioned as a candidate, but in April he announced that he would not run.[28]

Although Underwood's campaign began in the spring of 1894, he did not call a meeting of the Congressional Executive Committee until the regular meeting on August 9. He then stated that he had not called a meeting to resign because there was no other business to attend to. The real reason seems to have been quite different. The state convention had reapportioned the delegates to the district convention in order to give Jefferson County about half of the delegates as was justified by its population. Underwood failed to call a meeting of the committee in the hope that they would, by the time of their regular meeting, accept the state convention's reapportionment plan as a *fait accompli.* Underwood's delaying tactics were unsuccessful since, after accepting Underwood's resignation, the committee refused to accept the state committee's reapportionment and gave Jefferson County only one-third of the members in the convention. The district committee plan

28 Bessemer (Ala.) *Weekly,* Apr. 7, 1894.

gave Turpin an advantage over Underwood. Underwood's followers, infuriated by these tactics, called an indignation meeting at Elks Hall to protest. The district committee's apportionment plan was appealed to the state committee. Although the district committee chairman declared that he had not had adequate time in which to prepare a defense, most of the Turpin supporters recognized that their case was lost. The state committee overruled the district committee.[29]

The campaign for the nomination focused mainly on the monetary issue, with Underwood supporting free silver and Turpin standing "flat-footed" on his record of having voted with Cleveland's hard money policies. The newspapers were divided on the nomination, according to the position they took on the fiscal question. The Birmingham *Age-Herald,* Bessemer *Weekly,* Blocton *Courier,* and the Oneonta *News-Dispatch* attacked Turpin's position on the silver question. The Blountsville *Sentinel,* Bessemer *Journal,* and Marion *Standard* supported Turpin.[30]

Underwood, assuming that he would have the support of Jefferson County, made his most vigorous campaign in Perry County in the Black Belt.[31] Edward K. Campbell, a University of Virginia classmate who had located in Birmingham before Underwood, was his campaign manager.[32]

The Democratic primaries and conventions, held throughout the district on August 25, resulted in a clear victory for Underwood. In Jefferson County the Turpin followers made no effort to canvass, except in Bessemer and Warrior, and Turpin received only a few votes in those places. Jefferson County's convention instructed its 30 delegates to vote for Underwood as a unit. Perry County's convention

29 *Age-Herald,* Aug. 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 1894.
30 *Ibid.,* Apr. 8, 1894; Bessemer *Weekly,* Apr. 7, 14, 28, 1894; Bessemer (Ala.) *Journal,* Apr. 12, 19, 1894; Marion (Ala.) *Standard,* March 1, May 10, June 28, 1894
31 Mobile (Ala.) *Register,* Dec. 3, 1911.
32 Author's interview with O. W. Underwood, Jr., Nov. 24, 1951.

voted 70 to 22 in favor of Underwood. Bibb County held primaries and prorated its delegates, giving Underwood two and Turpin three. Blount County's 10 delegates were unanimously instructed for Bret Randolph, a favorite son. Hale County, Turpin's home, was the only one to give him a solid delegation.[33]

The results of the district's multifarious party nomination machinery made it clear that the district convention at Blount Springs could only ratify Underwood's nomination. The convention, which met on September 4, turned into a Democratic love feast, as Turpin, who was allegedly drunk at the meeting, had given up any real hope of being nominated. Ed Campbell brought in a resolution endorsing Turpin's "ability and patriotism" and placed Underwood's name before the convention.[34]

Underwood was nominated by acclamation. His acceptance speech was a pledge of party loyalty and fidelity to the Democratic platform. He said:

> Believing in the great principles of our party, as enunciated by our great leaders and as expressed in the national platform of 1892, I shall be guided by those principles.
>
> For the great principles of the Democratic faith the wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been freely expended. They are like the bright star in the Northern firmament, fixed and unchanging, and when the storms of misfortune or political strife have driven us from the true course of good government they stand as a tower of truth. . . .[35]

Underwood favored a revenue tariff in which his district would have a "fair share of any incidental benefits that may arise." He also favored an expanded currency and the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a 16-to-1 ratio. His speech was a negative answer to the gold Democrats, who

33 *Age-Herald,* Aug. 19, 22, 26, 1894; Marion *Standard,* Aug. 21, 24, 1894.
34 *Age-Herald,* Aug. 18, 1894.
35 *Ibid.,* Sept. 6, 1894.

offered their support in return for Underwood's omission of the free silver plank from his platform.[36]

The Republicans had nominated Truman H. Aldrich, a respected Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company official, who was handicapped by the fact that he was thought to have been in the process of moving to Cincinnati to join his family when the nomination occurred. A man of considerable wealth, Aldrich had made an outstanding contribution to the industrial development of Birmingham.[37] He stated that he considered himself the candidate of the businessmen, the Jeffersonians or Populists, and the Republicans. In accepting the nomination, he concentrated his attack on dishonest election methods. He spoke in favor of a protective tariff as an aid to the diversification of Birmingham's industries. With evident reference to the election frauds he punned, "There is one plant on which the Democrats have gotten ahead of us, and we don't want to rival them on that. It is a s-t-e-a-l plant." About half of the delegates to the convention were Negroes, and it was evident that the Republican party was united behind the candidate. The Black and Tan or Negro wing of the party endorsed Aldrich.[38]

The outlook for Underwood's election was not bright. Joseph H. Woodward of the Woodward Coal and Iron Company, who was later to become Underwood's father-in-law, expressed the prevailing Republican opinion, when he said: "Too bad Oscar's trying to get to Congress, he's a nice boy and I don't like to see him beaten, as he's sure to be."[39] Indeed, effective fusion between the Republicans and the Populists would likely bring defeat. There was little doubt that Popu-

36 *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1894; Bessemer *Weekly*, Sept. 8, 1894; Marion *Standard*, Sept. 7, 1894; Underwood Portfolio File.

37 *Age-Herald*, Sept. 28, 1894.

38 *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 12, 13, 1894.

39 Burton J. Hendrick, "Oscar W. Underwood, a New Leader from the New South," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII, 410 (Feb., 1912).

list leaders would support Aldrich's candidacy, but the *Age-Herald* confidently predicted that the "wool hat boys," the sturdy farmers in the Populist ranks, would not find the wealthy Aldrich appealing.[40]

Despite the predictions of the *Age-Herald* that the Populists would endorse Underwood or place their own candidate in the field, the agrarian party met at Blocton, Aldrich's home and a Populist stronghold, and endorsed the Republican nominee.[41]

The Democrats were much better supplied with speakers and much better organized than were the Republicans. Several prominent Democrats, including Joseph F. Johnston and Ed Campbell, spoke in Underwood's behalf. Underwood himself made an extensive tour of the district, averaging about a speech a day. Congressman Lewis W. Turpin, the defeated candidate for the Democratic nomination, sportingly made a number of speeches for Underwood. Charles F. Crisp of Georgia, speaker of the United States House of Representatives, came to Birmingham to speak for Underwood. Underwood clubs were organized throughout the district, and at least one Underwood Irish Democratic Club was formed.[42]

There was not a great deal that Underwood's supporters could say about their thirty-three-year-old candidate. Underwood was a tall, gangling youth, and a friendly reporter observed that with his "beardless innocent face" he did not appear to be more than twenty-five years of age.[43] Opponents ridiculed Underwood's fondness for bicycling, but cycling was popular in the Birmingham area, and the charge backfired.[44] The *Age-Herald* recommended Underwood as a "thorough

40 Sept. 11, 1894.

41 *Age-Herald,* Sept. 16, 1894.

42 *Ibid.,* Sept. 29, Oct. 4, 11, 12, Nov. 2, 3, 1894; author's interview with Hugh Morrow, Aug. 11, 1951.

43 Bessemer *Weekly,* Apr. 14, 1894, quoting the Atlanta *Constitution.*

44 Clipping from Frederica Virginia Underwood's box, *c.* 1898.

gentleman, an able lawyer, a fine business man, and a Democrat from spur to plume."[45]

Underwood made the Republican protective tariff policy the center of his attack. At Greensboro, on October 17, he spoke of his opponent as an honorable man and stated that the "gauge of battle hinged on party principles embodied mainly in the McKinley Bill." Southern industries were not infant industries, he said; they were capable of competing with any in the world. European labor might be cheaper, but the American employer got better value for the same amount expended for labor. Underwood stated that he was a free-trader and that the tariff should be no more than that necessary to support economical government. He maintained that the McKinley act had been a cause for commercial failures. He compared statistically the number of business failures during Cleveland's administration with those in Harrison's, declaring that the rate was some two or three times higher in the Republican administration. This he attributed to the McKinley tariff. He charged that the workers had been promised raises in wages upon the passage of the McKinley act but, instead, wages were now cut 10 to 40 per cent. Industrial strife resulted, and "cold lead and bayonets was the strikers' portion." He pointed out cogently that Aldrich had reduced the wages of his own miners while the McKinley act was operating and cited the benefits being derived from the free list in the Wilson-Gorman act.[46]

Second in importance to the tariff question was perhaps the time-honored charge of the Democrats that the election of a Republican would mean the return of Reconstruction and Negro rule. The *Age-Herald* charged that the Aldrich followers presented the colors of "Salt, Pepper, and Mustard." It also attacked the Republicans for having Negroes on Aldrich's

[45] Nov. 1, 1894.
[46] *Age-Herald,* Oct. 21, 1894.

"campaign committee" but found to their high glee that the Negroes were actually on the "executive committee," a powerless organization which handled no funds. Aldrich was also denounced for having Bill Stevens, leader of the Black and Tans, in his ranks.[47]

Despite the use of the Negro issue, the *Age-Herald* made some attempt to divide the Negro vote in Underwood's favor. It printed several articles by E. E. Carlisle, an allegedly prominent Negro, who urged Negroes to vote for Underwood as a means of restoring their political rights by keeping in harmony with the whites. He maintained that, by helping to elect Underwood, Negroes would have some claim on him but that, if Aldrich were elected, the Lily White Republicans and the Jeffersonian Democrats would be in control. He pointed out that the Aldrich group had three headquarters, one for the Lily Whites, one for the Jeffersonian Democrats, and one for the Negroes.

Although both platforms were in superficial agreement in endorsing bimetallism, the Republican platform significantly failed to endorse specifically the 16-to-1 ratio. It has been seen that Underwood declined to accept the offer of a trade with the gold Democrats for their support in return for repudiation of free silver. Therefore, the powerful gold Democrats in the Birmingham area, those who in 1896 were to join Palmer and Buckner, favored Aldrich.[48]

Underwood attacked Republican policies that he claimed were advantageous to the wealthy. Many of his charges were in line with Populist doctrine. He stated that the tariff made the rich man richer and the poor man poorer. He charged that two-thirds of the money in the United States was controlled by millionaires and that most of the people were left to struggle for the remaining one-third. He unequivocally and

[47] *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, Oct. 9, 16, 31, 1894.
[48] *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1894; Samuel Will John to Underwood, May 11, 1908.

emphatically endorsed free silver at a ratio of 16-to-1, maintaining that the depression of commodity prices was due to the contraction of the currency. He said that he would vote to repeal the 10 per cent tax on state bank notes. He was opposed to direct taxation, but favored putting the income tax back in force. He charged that Aldrich was opposed to the income tax. With reference to the hybrid platform on which Aldrich was running, he said that he would refuse to be the standard bearer of his party, when he could not stand "hip to hip" with his party and its principles. Toward the end of the campaign Underwood made a speech at Bessemer, which had gone Populist in the August gubernatorial election, addressing himself directly to the followers of Reuben F. Kolb. He said:

> The Republican party is struggling to carry with it the Jeffersonian democrats, who separated from us on local issues. To do that they have secured the services of Captain Kolb and others who were prominent in his cause. I ask you to consider well and long before doing something that will be detrimental to your interests. Are you going to let them lead you into the Republican party, the party that has done your country so much harm? Captain Kolb and other leaders have nothing to lose by going into the Republican party; they go for the loaves and fishes. You will get none of the loaves and fishes.[49]

The Democrats demonstrated quite effectively that as a candidate Aldrich was neither fish nor fowl nor good red herring. If he should be elected to Congress, he would have divided allegiance; his protectionist views would be distasteful to the Democrats and his free silver position equally distasteful to the Republicans. The Democrats also maintained that Aldrich would be little help to Senator John Tyler Morgan in securing passage of a Nicaraguan canal bill, because the House was Democratic.[50]

[49] *Age-Herald*, Oct. 21, Nov. 3, 8, 1894.

[50] *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, Oct. 12, 24, 1894. See also August C. Radke, "Senator Morgan and the Nicaraguan Canal," *Alabama Review*, XII, 5-34 (Jan., 1959).

The claim that Aldrich had been a great benefactor of the region in spending freely his own money to foster a study of the geological structure of the Birmingham district brought a bitter reply from the *Age-Herald,* which stated on November 6, 1894 that Aldrich had spent $40,000 in the "swell days" of high protection to get up a geological paper, which presented the atheistic theory that "neither Moses nor his inspirer knew anything about the creation of the world."

The voting in Jefferson County on election day, November 6, was some 30 per cent lighter than it had been in the August gubernatorial election. Several Republicans were arrested for possessing marked or printed mock ballots in violation of Alabama's Sayre law. Some Republicans began the cry of fraud before the morning was over and poll watchers were placed outside the polls to make rosters of the voters for use in contesting the election, in the event that they should lose. Some Republicans asserted that Aldrich would be seated whether or not he was elected.

Underwood received 7,463 votes, Aldrich 6,153. Jefferson County voters cast about half of the ballots, and they voted 3,615 to 2,030 in favor of the Democrat. Underwood carried Birmingham proper, but Aldrich carried most of the peripheral mining settlements. In Blount County, where the Republicans controlled the voting machinery, two Democratic beats (precincts) were thrown out, and Aldrich received a vote of 1,451 to 1,033 for Underwood. Bibb County went for Aldrich by a majority of 503. Perry and Hale, the two Black Belt counties, went for Underwood by majorities of 758 and 988 with the Republicans generally refraining from voting.[51]

At the outset of his campaign, Underwood had appeared to have little chance of nomination or election. Opposition to

[51] The state-wide vote was scarcely half as large as that cast in the August election. See Albert B. Moore, *History of Alabama* (University, Ala., 1934), 640; *Age-Herald,* Nov. 8, 1894.

his nomination disintegrated in the face of a strong movement in Birmingham for the "Magic City" to furnish the district's Congressman. The victory in the general election resulted from better organization and more effective campaigning. The Republicans had an able nominee in Aldrich, but he was not a man to inspire public enthusiasm. The hardy Dutch iron master was a poor speaker, and the Negro and small farmer constituents of the Republican and Populist parties were little interested in him. The Republicans had less capable leadership, less organization, less newspaper support, and more factionalism than did the Democrats. Underwood had campaigned on the basis of loyalty to the Democratic party, but, while standing on the party platform, he used so much of the language of Populism that he clearly differentiated himself from the Bourbon Democrats in philosophy.[52]

Several features of the campaign should be noted because of their significance in Underwood's future career. Especially noteworthy is Underwood's loyalty to the party platform. The tariff issue, which he emphasized so strongly, was to be the cardinal principle for which he fought during his entire political career. The free silver issue he ultimately abandoned, as did his party. He had proved himself to be an acceptable but uninspiring speaker. He conducted the campaign with perhaps more moderation than was characteristic of the period. He showed a fondness for facts and statistics that became one of the hallmarks of the Underwood political character.

There was no expectation that the Republicans would accept the results of Underwood's election. Indeed, everyone knew that in a matter of time the Republican Congress would in partisan fashion vote to unseat Underwood and declare Aldrich elected. Underwood shook hands with Aldrich at the

52 See Allen J. Going, "Critical Months in Alabama Politics, 1895-1896," *Alabama Review*, V, 269-281 (Oct., 1952) and the same author's *Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890* (University, Ala., 1951).

depot before boarding the train to Washington and asked his opponent when he expected to visit the capital. "In about a week" was Aldrich's reply. "Well," said Underwood, "I'll try to keep the seat warm."[53]

According to one account, Underwood returned to the University of Virginia to see John B. ("Old John B.") Minor, his former law professor. Minor did not even inquire about Underwood's honor. Finally, Underwood burst out that he had been elected to Congress. Minor sighed quietly: "I'm sorry, I had great hopes for you. I think you might have made a good lawyer."[54]

[53] Birmingham *Weekly State Herald*, Nov. 27, 1895.
[54] Clipping, Underwood Scrapbook, III, 130.

The Military Career of Henry D. Clayton

By HOLMAN D. JORDAN

HENRY DE LAMAR CLAYTON'S military career began with his association with the Clayton Guards, a militia company in Clayton, Alabama, whence he had moved in 1848, after his graduation from Emory and Henry College, to join the Shorter brothers' law firm.[1] A decade later, while serving his first of three terms (1857, 1859, 1861) as a member of the Alabama House of Representatives, he was elected captain. On May 1, 1860 he was re-elected, and four months later, August 30, when the Clayton Guards became a part of the Third Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Corps, he was commissioned colonel.[2]

In January, 1861 Governor A. B. Moore of Alabama called for troops to go to Pensacola, Florida. The Clayton Guards, as well as other local units, volunteered, but Governor Moore opposed Colonel Clayton's leaving the legislature. The Colonel promptly had himself sworn in as a private. Moore, recognizing Clayton's determination, appointed him colonel in charge of all Alabama troops for one year.[3] In

1 See "Sketch Among the Generals," in General H. D. Clayton Papers (University of Alabama Library, University, Ala.), folder 1. Hereinafter this collection will be cited as CP, plus the appropriate folder number.

2 *Ibid.*, 91; Alabama *Senate Journal*, 1857-1858, 444; Clayton Guards to State of Alabama, Aug. 30, 1860, in First Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment File, Military Archives (Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery). Unless otherwise indicated, all military manuscripts cited are in this collection. It was Congressman Clayton's own bill, passed while he was serving as chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, that made possible the merging of the Clayton Guards into a state militia organization.

3 CP, 1; General Orders No. 6, Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 6, 1861 (CP, 83).

March, 1861 the several Alabama companies which had meantime been stationed at Fort Barrancas, Pensacola, across the bay from nearby Federal Fort Pickens, were formed into the First Alabama Volunteer Regiment, Confederate States Army, with Colonel Clayton as commander.[4]

According to Clayton, the regiment, which actually worked day after day within range of Federal guns, was improperly clothed and sheltered, and in August-September many of the men and their Colonel were ill with fever.[5] These conditions, plus the belief of the men that there would be no fight, caused a morale problem which was not alleviated until November 22-23, at which time they saw their first action.[6] It took the form of a forty-hour artillery duel, with the First Alabama manning some nineteen of the Confederate cannon. In his December 4 report of the action General Braxton Bragg praised Clayton and the regiment in these words:

> Col. H. D. Clayton, First Regiment of Alabama Volunteers, whose entire regiment served both days at the batteries, has received the just commendation of the general. This gallant regiment has toiled for near ten months in the construction and garnishment of the works they almost despaired of using. Having been the first on the ground, much the largest portion of the labor fell their lot. When least expected the opportunity has been offered to test their skill, and most nobly they availed themselves.[7]

In January, 1862, when his enlistment was up, Colonel Clayton returned home. He did not like the idea of leaving the First Alabama but, inasmuch as it had become a heavy artillery outfit, he thought that it would be doomed to garrison duty. In March he obtained permission from Richmond

4 Troy (Ala.) *Messenger*, Oct. 31, 1889, stated that this was the first Confederate regiment created, making Clayton the first commissioned Confederate colonel.

5 Clayton to his wife, Feb. 18, June 21, Aug. 6, 1861; Special Order 193, Aug. 13, 1861 (CP, 4).

6 Field and Staff Muster Roll, Record of Events, Nov.-Dec., 1861.

7 *War of the Rebellion . . .* (Washington, 1880-1901), 1, VI, 493-498 (hereinafter *ORA*).

to organize a new regiment with three-year enlistments and in May, when the enrolment was complete and the group designated as the Thirty-ninth Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment, he was made its colonel.[8] On May 19, after a short period at a camp of instruction at Opelika, the Thirty-ninth Alabama was ordered by rail to Corinth, Mississippi under Bragg at Tupelo. In August the regiment was transferred to Chattanooga under the command of General Leonidas Polk.[9] Clayton wrote home of the high spirits of his men because of the fight that was anticipated.[10] By September 14 Clayton's regiment was at Glasgow, Kentucky, resting after helping to cut Buell's retreat. After reaching Cumberland Gap it made a night march to Perryville where it fought under General E. Kirby Smith. The regiment next fought from December 29 to January 4, 1863 as a part of Zachariah C. Deas' brigade at the Battle of Murfreesboro, taking heavy losses. Colonel Clayton was among the ninety-eight wounded and after the battle he was granted a furlough.[11] Impressed with his actions, General Bragg wrote to President Davis, recommending that he be promoted.[12]

In February the Thirty-ninth, which had been strengthened by consolidation with the Twenty-sixth Alabama Volunteer Infantry Regiment, was encamped at the fair grounds at Shelbyville, Tennessee and building Fort Rains. The next month, with rumors of a Federal advance, it began a withdrawal.[13] Shortly afterwards, Clayton was promoted to brigadier-general and given command of a brigade, formerly

8 J. P. Benjamin to Clayton, March 3, 1862 (CP, 82); War Department to Clayton, May 15, 1862 (CP, 91).
9 *ORA*, 1, XVII (2), 632-634; *ibid.*, 1, XVI (2), 76.
10 Clayton to his wife, Aug. 15, 25, 1862 (CP, 5).
11 *ORA*, 1, XX (1), 753. Report of the Battle of Murfreesboro, Jan. 3, 1863. Clayton's brother, Joseph, captain of Co. H, Thirty-Ninth Regiment, was killed at Murfreesboro. See Clayton to his mother and father, Feb. 17, 1863 (CP, 6).
12 J. L. Pugh to Clayton, Feb. 17, 1863 (CP, 6).
13 Clayton to his wife, Feb. 23, March 8, 1863 (CP, 6).

commanded by Major-General A. P. Stewart, which was made up of the Eighteenth, Thirty-second, Twenty-sixth, Thirty-eighth and Fifty-eighth Alabama regiments, plus an Arkansas battery. Its strength on May 10, 1863 was 148 officers and 2,541 men.[14] The brigade first moved to Loudon, Tennessee, and was next sent with Stewart's division into Georgia. From there it moved to Charleston, Tennessee and on September 17 began a march to Chattanooga. The next day it halted at Chickamauga, formed and advanced against the enemy. Stewart wrote, "It is but just to this excellent officer and his fine brigade to say that they moved forward to this, their first engagement, with great spirit and alacrity, and in admirable order."[15] Clayton's brigade advanced, after three cheers for Alabama, into an open cornfield, but was soon forced to stop, take cover, fire only on sight, and eventually withdraw because of a shortage of ammunition. Despite more than four hundred casualties the brigade captured twelve pieces of artillery, nearly three hundred prisoners, and many small arms. On September 19 the brigade participated in two more charges. Clayton was wounded in the first. After the second the brigade had more than 44 per cent losses and took no further part in the Battle of Chickamauga.[16]

At Chattanooga, on November 25, Clayton's brigade suffered even greater losses. It had been sent to stop an enemy flanking movement at Craven House, where it was encircled and had to infiltrate back to the Confederate lines. It suffered some one hundred casualties and more than seven times that many officers and men were on the missing list.[17] Because of the need for reorganization, the brigade was sent to Dalton, Georgia.

After a reconnaissance from Rocky Face Mountain the

[14] *ORA*, 1, XXXIII (2), 942-943; *ibid.*, 1, XXIII (2), 829, 863.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1, XX (2), 360-361.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1, XXX (2), 402-405.
[17] *Ibid.*, 1, XXXI (2), 745; *ibid.*, 1, XXXI (3), 800-801.

brigade saw action in Crow's Valley where, according to Joseph E. Johnston's report, it defeated twice its number.[18] May and June brought a deterioration of morale with little but defeat and retreat with mounting casualty lists. Mill Creek Gap, Resaca, Cassville, New Hope Church, Lost Mountain, Marietta and Kenesaw Mountain were nothing more for Clayton and his men than a series of backbreaking fortification erections and retreats. No real engagement was fought. The brigade dug and marched with poor rations, poorer supplies and with a precipitous decline in spirit.

On July 5, 1864 at Marietta, Georgia Clayton was promoted to major-general, upon Stewart's, Hill's and Johnston's recommendations. His division, which consisted of the brigades of Alpheus Baker, William H. Gibson, James Holtzclaw and Marcellus Stovall, immediately began a retreat toward Atlanta, arriving just northeast of the city on the twentieth. It attacked the next day, gained nothing, but held its original position in the works outside Atlanta. On the twenty-eighth it crossed the city via the Lick Skillet Road and remained in a line one mile west of Atlanta until August 25, without a major engagement. Two days afterwards the enemy withdrew to a position five miles south of Atlanta, removing the pressure from Clayton's front.[19] Clayton wrote home of the prospects of peace with the coming Democratic convention in the North, adding that his men were enjoying the luxuries of resting and washing their clothes.[20] On July 31 the division attacked at Jonesborough, but all forces lacked spirit and nothing was gained.[21] September 1 saw the beginning of a march to Nashville, although Clayton did not then know his ultimate destination. The division at this time had an effec-

18 *Ibid.*, 1, XXII (1), 477-478; *ibid.*, 1, XXXI (2), 477.
19 In 1878, at the request of General Hood, Clayton sent a report which Hood used in preparing his *Advance and Retreat . . .* (New Orleans, 1880). See CP, 89.
20 Clayton to his wife, Aug. 28, 1864 (CP, 7).
21 Clayton's Report on the Battle of Jonesborough, Aug. 31-Sept. 16, 1864 (CP, 89).

tive strength of 2,146 officers and men, 543 less than Clayton's brigade had had before the Battle of Chickamauga.[22] The men were jubilant, thinking that they were bound for North Georgia to cut Sherman's supply line and cause his withdrawal. Clayton believed that their move, happily, would also make Alabama more secure. By October 15 they were at Tilton and had torn up a considerable amount of railroad track and taken 1,500 prisoners. On October 21 they reached Gadsden, Alabama in high spirits and ready to fight. By now Nashville was rumored to be the objective of the Army of Tennessee.[23] On October 30, it crossed the Tennessee River at Florence, the men swimming and holding on to the boats that contained their guns. After being greeted enthusiastically by the local people, they advanced on Columbia via Henryville and Mount Pleasant. There a delay of a few hours permitted the two Federal corps at Columbia to escape on November 27. Three days later Clayton's division advanced to Spring Hill, but arrived too late for the battle.[24] The next day it pushed off for Nashville in the front of the army, arriving before that city on December 1. For the next fifteen days they erected fortifications.[25]

On the night of December 15 Clayton's division held the right side of the Franklin Pike. The enemy demonstrated all along the Confederate front and Clayton had to send two of his three brigades in support to the left. During the night the division withdrew to Overton Hill and constructed breastworks. Early on the morning of the sixteenth the enemy opened the attack with a devastating artillery barrage. The Confederates held their fire until the Federals were within easy range, at times only thirty yards, and succeeded in repulsing them several times. The men were confident, some

22 See n. 19, above.
23 Clayton to his wife, Sept. 21, Oct. 7, 15, and Nov. 8, 1864, (CP, 7).
24 Stephen D. Lee's Report, Jan. 20, 1865 (CP, 89).
25 *ORA*, 1, XLV (1), 579.

even were hard to control because of their eagerness to pursue the enemy. By mid-afternoon the tide of battle had changed. The Confederate center, to the left of Clayton's command, broke and at four o'clock Clayton noticed a confused withdrawal on his left. He ordered a gradual retreat down Franklin Pike, leaving a battery and one brigade across the road to protect the withdrawal of his main force to Brentwoods, seven miles north of Franklin. At eight the next morning the Confederate cavalry was shamefully stampeded, as Clayton and one of his brigadiers stated, but the division was able to stop the Federal cavalry, taking many prisoners and colors. At ten Clayton's division was relieved and began its withdrawal. By December 18 General Nathan B. Forrest had arrived and the army was partially reorganized. At Christmas the Army of Tennessee was again in Florence.[26]

The Nashville campaign had been disastrous for all concerned, except Clayton. His actions at Brentwood had been outstanding, as Hood said:

> Order among the troops was in a measure restored at Brentwood, a few miles in the rear of the scene of the disaster, through the promptness and gallantry of Clayton's Division, which speedily formed and confronted the enemy. . . . General Clayton displayed admirable coolness and courage in the discharge of his duties.[27]

Several years later, on June 9, 1886, the Montgomery *Daily Dispatch* described Clayton's command as follows:

> [It] participated in the disastrous Hood campaign and at defeat in front of Nashville saved the army of Tennessee from complete ruin by repelling the continued assaults of the enemy. In the words of General Thomas the division of Clayton 'stood undaunted to the last.' It killed over two thousand of the assaulting column and was the last to leave the field, contesting every foot of ground and repulsing attack after attack.

[26] These activities of Nov. 20-Dec. 27, 1864 are summarized from Clayton's reports in *ORA*, 1, XLV (1), *passim*. See also *ibid.*, 1, XLV (1), 74, 700.
[27] See n. 1, above.

In January, 1865 Clayton's division was cut to two brigades and sent to the Carolinas to act under Joseph E. Johnston in opposition to Sherman's march on Richmond. The division was at Branchville, South Carolina on February 8. Men, supplies and particularly ammunition were critically short. Again the action was mostly retreat. The division, which in February consisted of an effective total of 424 officers and men, was again reorganized in March with new brigade commanders and strengthened to 900. Clayton complained twice of his brigades' actions—at both Little Congaree Bridge and South West Creek they broke and retreated without cause. Clayton's last engagement, March 19, was near Bentonville, South Carolina, on the road to Wilmington, where with momentary spirit his force enjoyed temporary success, but finally withdrew with a loss of 244 of his 867 effectives.[28]

In April, 1865 Clayton left the army, retiring voluntarily because of a surplus of senior officers and the great mental and physical strain of which he had been complaining since Atlanta. D. H. Hill wrote that he regretted Clayton's determination to leave the army. He said that theirs had been a pleasant association and that Clayton had shone in the last campaign. He concluded by saying, "I am sure that all who know you unite with me in regret that our army is to lose your valuable services, though your transfer to another field of usefulness may be equally beneficial to our beloved country."[29]

After Appomattox Major-General Clayton took an active part in Alabama affairs. He was elected, unpardoned, judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit in 1866 and in 1885 unsuccessfully ran for governor. His last public service was as president of the state University from 1886 until his death in 1889.

[28] *ORA*, 1, XLVII (2), 1125, 1185, 1262, 1386; *ibid.*, 1, XLVII (1), 1088; Clayton's Report, March 15, 1865 (CP, 89).
[29] D. H. Hill to Clayton, Apr. 10, 1865 (CP, 8).

Notes and Documents

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ANTE-BELLUM ALABAMA

By NANCY C. ROBERSON

IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH, according to a long and widely-held interpretation, land and slaves represented not only wealth but political and social domination as well.[1] This concept led to use of the word "slavocracy" in characterizing the region—a land of class and caste of planter, slave, and servile white existing on the fringe of society. The Plain Folk, according to the traditional stereotype, occupied a vague and nebulous middle ground.

Scholars of the past generation have laboriously produced a much broader interpretation of life and labor in the Old South. Prominent among these revisionists was the late Professor Frank L. Owsley, who first extensively used the unpublished 1850 and 1860 United States censuses to analyze the role of what he called the "yeoman farmer." His findings pictured the extensive middle class as a strong, healthy element in the economic pattern of the region—industrious, ambitious, and often prosperous. This sizable group, which theoretically stood between the master in the Big House and his slave in the Quarters, was composed principally of well-to-do nonslaveholders or small slaveholders who, themselves, worked in the fields beside their few Negroes. In short, despite the untoward tradition, Owsley found

1 This project was pursued in Professor Thomas B. Alexander's seminar at the University of Alabama, 1958-1959. The writer is grateful to him for his assistance and guidance.

more democracy in the economic structure of the Old South than had his predecessors.[2]

This study is an attempt to supplement Owsley's findings by illustrating the degree of social democracy in sample counties of Alabama.

Social mobility has been gauged by the extent to which white people with differing economic backgrounds intermarried, as determined by an analysis of unpublished census data and marriage records of five counties—Bibb, Clarke, Lawrence, Madison, and St. Clair—during all or part of the five-year period, 1851-1855.[3] This half decade was selected for two reasons. First, the 1850 census listed the names of children in each household, whereas earlier censuses provided only age and sex information. Inasmuch as county marriage records rarely reveal names of parents, the census was the only practical source for identifying fathers of the parties to each marriage. With this identification made, the census further provided the necessary data on value of real estate owned by each set of parents or by the head of the household in which each bride or groom was living. Secondly, for two of the counties (Bibb and Clarke) information concerning

2 *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, 1944).

3 Copies of county marriage records deposited in the Birmingham (Ala.) Public Library or loaned by genealogists have been employed in this study. For St. Clair County Marriage Records, the copy employed was made by members of the Broken Arrow Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Pell City, loaned to the writer by Miss Maud M. Kelly of Huntsville. The copy of Bibb County Marriage Records was made by Miss Frances Hawkins of West Blockton. The copy of Index to Madison County Marriage Records was made by Elizabeth P. DeYoung for the Twickenham Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Huntsville, and is in the Birmingham Public Library. The copy of Marriage License Records of Lawrence County was made by Mrs. C. M. Graham, Stephens Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, assisted by Mrs. Phil Painter of Decatur, and is in the Birmingham Public Library. The copy of Clarke County Marriage Records was made by Grace Kelly McManus of Montgomery, and is in the Birmingham Public Library.

The task of identifying families of brides and grooms from the 1850 census has been greatly facilitated by the use of typed Free Schedules prepared by Mrs. Pauline Jones Gandrud of Tuscaloosa.

ownership of improved and unimproved acres had already been compiled by Owsley from the Agricultural Schedule of the 1850 census.[4] Because of the convenience of information, these two counties were studied for five years. The other three counties were studied for only 1851.

The Slave Schedule of the 1850 census was consulted for the number of slaves belonging to the parent or guardian of each party to a marriage under study.[5] This was necessary, not only for an approximation of the wealth of each family involved, but also for an analysis of the influence, if any, of slaveholding upon social status. It was important to discover the extent to which marriages were contracted across lines between nonslaveholders and slaveholders, and between small and large slaveholders.

Procedural difficulties were frequently encountered in this study. Matching brides and grooms with parents required the weighing of many factors. In about 10 per cent of the cases the bride or groom could be one of several people. Identical names were not uncommon among as many as four people in a county, and both marriage recorder and census taker frequently showed such informality in recording given names as to increase the ordinary difficulties of identification. In such cases criteria of age or propinquity had to be cautiously employed. In a number of cases the probability of correct identification was reduced by the fact that wide differences in age appeared between the supposed parties to the marriage. When a marriage was the second one for the bride, she was not infrequently several years older than the groom, if correct identifications in this sampling have been

[4] The Owsley Collection, University of Alabama Library, contains a handwritten copy of parts or all of the *Seventh Census of the United States: Agricultural Schedule* (1850) for the counties of Baldwin, Bibb, Clarke, Coffee, Coosa, Pine Barrens Region of Covington, Lauderdale, Rocky Mountain and Lowndes Districts of Lowndes, Marengo, Perry, and Randolph.

[5] The Slave Schedule of the 1850 census for each of the counties studied was used in microfilm copy in the University of Alabama Library.

made. Marriages with out-of-county persons were a further handicap to this study. Therefore, allowance must be made for a considerable percentage of erroneous identification despite careful precautions. It is believed, however, that a large enough proportion of correct associations of brides and grooms with their parents has been made to justify the attempt to draw tentative conclusions.

In determining the general economic status of families, the value of real estate shown in the census was multiplied by three on the assumption that tax appraisal was approximately one-third of true value.[6] For each slave owned, $500 was added to the adjusted real estate valuation to determine approximate total wealth.[7]

The counties used in this study varied considerably. Bibb County in 1850 included a portion of what would later become Chilton County. Some highly productive soil was found in the county, but much of its area was hill country not well adapted to extensive agriculture. The population included 7,097 whites, 11 free Negroes, and 2,861 slaves.[8] Clarke County soil was mostly of the Clay Hills type, but some excellent soil made possible almost as many slaves as whites: 4,901 whites, 9 free Negroes and 4,876 slaves. St. Clair County was deep in the hilly region of North Alabama, but a few portions of the county are limestone valleys with very high agricultural value. The 1850 population contained the

6 "Prices of land for tax assessments were listed at from one-third to one-half of its real worth, and this was the evaluation accepted by the census enumerator" (Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeoman 1840-1860* [Nashville, 1942], 58). For Bibb and Clarke counties, where numbers of improved and unimproved acres could be found in the Owsley Collection notes, an evaluation of real estate was reached by estimating improved acres at $35 and unimproved at $10. The figures thus obtained were roughly three times the value in the census and buttress the decision to follow the practice of multiplying the assessed value by three.

7 It should be stated that evaluation of the wealth of a family unit in this study does not take into consideration forms of wealth other than land and slaves.

8 Population figures for the counties under study are from the *Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1853).

lowest proportion of Negroes among the five counties studied: 5,501 whites, 7 free Negroes, and 1,321 slaves. There were only 210 small slaveholders in 1850. St. Clair may therefore be said to illustrate a typical white county. Lawrence County, in the Tennessee River Valley, was partly limestone valley and partly hill country. Its population included 8,342 whites, 64 free Negroes, and 6,852 slaves. Madison County was one of the richest and most diversified counties of Alabama. Bordering the Tennessee River, with extensive limestone valley soil and the thriving town of Huntsville, Madison was the most populous county used in this study and the only one with more slaves than whites. The population in 1850 was 11,937 whites, 164 free Negroes, and 14,326 slaves. In antebellum Madison County were to be found planter and farmer, laborer and craftsman, as well as business and professional classes.

The results of the study, as presented below in two sections, are based on approximately half of the marriages studied—the half in which correct association of bride or groom with family unit is reasonably certain or highly probable. The first section reveals the proportion of marriages crossing the line between slaveholder and nonslaveholder, or between small and large slaveholder. The second section is presented in a scattergram designed to portray the overall degree of social fluidity revealed in the marriages under study.

I

The accompanying table shows the numbers of marriages involving only nonslaveholding families, those uniting slaveholding and nonslaveholding families, marriages within the small slaveholding group, and marriages involving small and large slaveholders. Within each category the marriages are divided into three types: (1) those in which families of both bride and groom were identified; (2) those in which

ANTE-BELLUM ALABAMA MARRIAGE STATISTICS

County and the period for which marriages are studied	Types of Marriages	Marriages between non-slaveholding families	Marriages between slaveholding and non-slaveholding families	Marriages between families with fewer than 10 slaves	Marriages between families with fewer than 10 slaves and those with 10 or more	Marriages between families with 10 or more slaves	Total number of matched marriages for the county
Bibb 1851-1855	Both families identified	35 (2)*	33 (2)	9 (1)	6	2 (1)	133 (12)
	Bride's family identified	14 (2)	11	1	2 (1)	1	
	Second marriages	13 (1)	4 (2)		2		
Clarke 1851-1855	Both families identified	15 (3)	15	9	8 (1)	4 (1)	109 (20)
	Bride's family identified	14 (6)	17 (2)	1	3 (1)	1	
	Second marriages	7 (2)	11 (3)		2 (1)	2	
Lawrence 1851	Both families identified	9 (3)	9 (3)	3	3		37 (7)
	Bride's family identified	4	5 (1)		1		
	Second marriages		2			1	
Madison 1851	Both families identified	17 (3)	7		2	3	63 (6)
	Bride's family identified	15 (2)	9 (1)	2	1	1	
	Second marriages	5	1				
St. Clair 1851	Both families identified	14 (3)	1 (1)		1		19 (4)
	Bride's family identified	1					
	Second marriages	2					
TOTAL		165 (27)	125 (15)	25 (1)	31 (4)	15 (2)	361 (49)

*The numbers in parentheses indicate marriages in which one or both parties possessed a surname different from that of the household in which they lived. The primary numbers include the numbers in parentheses.

bride's family but not groom's family was identified; and (3) those which apparently were second marriages. The first group is the most significant for measuring social fluidity because these were between young people likely to reflect parental and peer-group attitudes. The second group is less useful because it involves the property of a young man just starting out in life rather than the probably larger estate of his parents. This results in comparing the groom's own estate with that of his wife's father. The third group, second marriages, is probably an unsatisfactory index to social attitudes and constitutes so small a number as to jeopardize the validity of any generalizations.

Caution must be exercised in interpreting the table. The Lawrence County records used for this study showed only licenses issued, not marriages actually performed. The Madison County records gave both licenses issued and marriages performed, the latter far outnumbering the former. Difficulty was encountered repeatedly in deciding whether a marriage was a second one. As shown in the parentheses on the table, some marriages were included in which the surname of bride or groom was not the same as the head of the household in which the marriage partner was living in 1850. Trying to determine whether this represented employed persons or relatives who were true members of the family presented many opportunities for incorrect conclusions.[9]

Figures in the "Total" line of the chart indicate that, for the entire sampling, a remarkably fluid pattern appears. When it is taken into consideration that approximately one-

[9] In this study it has been assumed that a woman living in a household with a surname different from her own was a relative of the family and shared its economic status. In the case of a man in such circumstances, however, it has usually been assumed that he was a boarder or employee and did not share the economic status of the family. Exceptions to this latter practice have been made where several persons of the same name as the groom were living in a household with a

fourth of the families of Alabama were slaveholding families, it can be recognized that 125 marriages crossing the non-slaveholding-slaveholding line (representing slightly more than one-third of the total number of marriages employed for the study) indicate little or no tendency for slaveholding to be a significant consideration in marriage alliances. It is also to be observed that among the slaveholders considerable fluidity existed in the marriage structure here revealed. As for distinctions among the counties, St. Clair had so few slaveholders that obviously the bulk of marriages would be between nonslaveholders. That Madison County marriages show somewhat less fluidity in social relations may have been due to a greater tendency to stratification in that older and richer community.

An attempt to determine whether nonslaveholding families might reasonably expect to see children marry into large slaveholding families met with inconclusive results because of the limited number of cases and the unusual circumstances surrounding most of these few cases. Except for St. Clair County, where there was no considerable number of large slaveholders, a number of marriages were noted in this category: 26 between nonslaveholders and slaveholders owning more than ten slaves, and 13 between nonslaveholders and slaveholders owning more than twenty-five slaves. Some of these, however, involved cases of the type in which the groom's family could not be identified, so that he might have been of a slaveholding family although owning no slaves himself. Others involved persons with surnames not the same as the head of the household. Altogether, it appears too risky to generalize from such data, but indications would seem to justify much further study on the subject.

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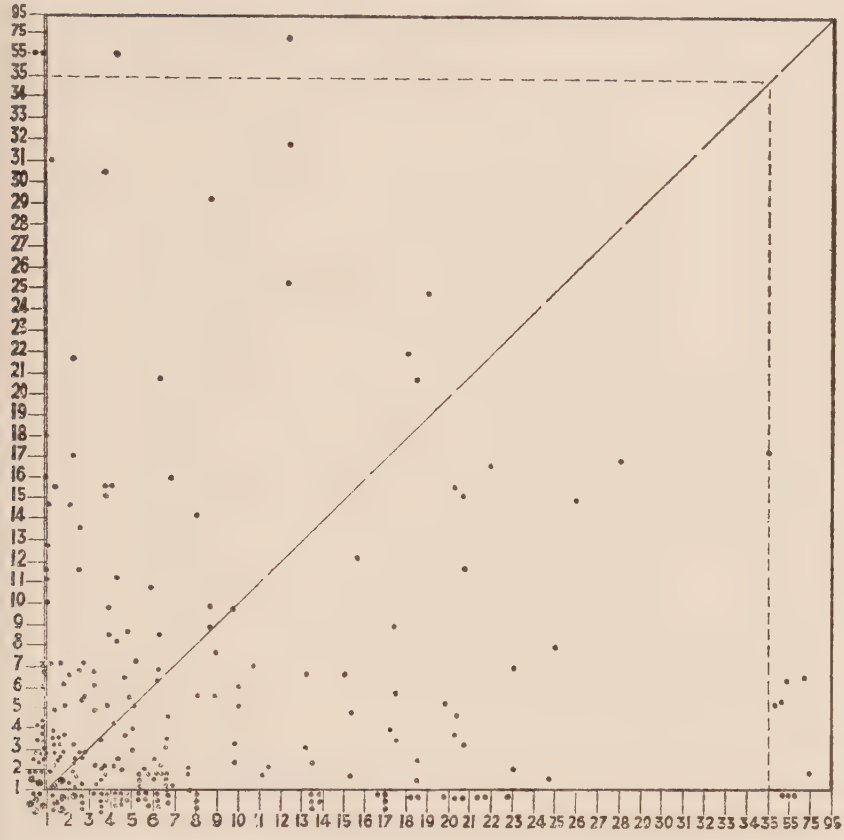
different surname. Here it would seem that some relationship existed between the family and the several persons residing with it.

DEGREE OF SOCIAL FLUIDITY



Each small dot represents one marriage, each large dot a cluster of ten.

Numerals show wealth in thousands of dollars for families of marriage partners or for groom himself where his family could not be identified.

Wealth of groom's family or groom is the number on the left margin directly opposite the dot. Wealth of bride's family is the number on the base line directly below the dot.

Dots near the diagonal line (involving families of approximately equal wealth) reflect social rigidity. Distance of dots from the diagonal is the measure of social fluidity. Dots above and to the left of the diagonal indicate that the groom or his family was wealthier than the bride's family. Those below and to the right indicate that the bride's family had greater wealth than the groom's.

Most of the dots along the base line, indicating no wealth for the groom or his family, represent marriages in which the groom's family could not be identified. These are of limited significance because wealth of a young man is not strictly comparable with that of his father-in-law.

II

The second section of this study, presented in the accompanying scattergram, seeks to illustrate the over-all findings of the project. No differentiation has been made on the scattergram among the types of marriages. Each small dot represents one marriage, and each large dot represents ten marriages. The numbered intervals represent the approximate value of the estates of the respective families in thousands of dollars. The estate of the bride's family is indicated by the numbers along the base (abscissa) line, and the estate of the groom's family or the groom himself is indicated by the numbers along the vertical (ordinate) line. Thus the marriage represented by the dot just to the left of the top center of the scattergram represents a bride's family with about $12,000 in property and a groom's family with almost $75,000.

Almost all of the dots along the lower or base line represent marriages in which the groom's parents could not be identified and no estate was indicated for the groom himself. The dots along the vertical line, however, suggest marriages between brides with no apparent family wealth and grooms of even very wealthy family connection. A high degree of social rigidity would tend to group the dots close to the diagonal line, with poor marrying poor (lower left-hand corner) and rich marrying rich (upper right-hand corner). Distance from this diagonal line suggests the extent of social fluidity. While approximately 60 per cent of the marriages involved families with estates of $8,000 or less, considerable mobility existed within this limited range. Above the $8,000 level social mobility appears to have been great and far reaching.

If the results of this small study should be borne out by further and more extensive samplings in other counties, it may then be conclusively demonstrated that class lines based

on economic status were not rigidly observed. This, in turn, would add further to the evidence that slaveholding per se had no such unfavorable effects on the large nonslaveholding class as has been so often maintained.

* * *

BELLES-LETTRES IN BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

By ROBERT R. REA

THE HISTORY of British West Florida has been written in terms of Indian congresses and land grants, and the two decades of British control of the Gulf Coast have consequently appeared prosaic in comparison with the romance of the French and Spanish periods. Yet the British Empire of the Eighteenth Century was capable of reproducing the culture of the age even in such outposts of empire as Pensacola and Mobile. There, against the back-drop of the swamp, with an accompanying chorus of a thousand howling redskins, Archibald Campbell, classical satirist, was destined to give birth to belles-lettres on the Gulf Coast.

When West Florida passed from French and Spanish possession to that of Great Britain, George III, following the advice of the Earl of Bute, appointed George Johnstone governor of West Florida.[1] Johnstone, a Scottish naval officer and a man of some culture and learning,[2] brought with him to America the Highland poet James Macpherson, compiler of those Ossianic verses which had recently amazed the London

1 Romney Sedgwick (ed.), *Letters from George III to Lord Bute 1756-1766* (London, 1939), 203, which eliminates the question of Bute's influence which is unanswered by Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1943), 24.

2 Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1763-1766, English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), I, 8. The description is here attached to Major Robert Farmar, but a study of Johnstone's and Farmar's correspondence leaves no doubt concerning the identification.

literati. Thus, when Archibald Campbell, who might be described as the father of English letters in British West Florida, arrived in Pensacola as a purser on a British man-of-war, he was welcomed by Johnstone and Macpherson and the three men whiled away their leisure hours discussing English poetry.

Campbell was a fine example of that numerous class of garret hacks and impoverished adventurers who dreamed of finding riches in the Indies both East and West. The details of their lives are as ephemeral as their fortunes and their writings. In Campbell's case little appears beyond the fact that he was born about 1726, the son of the Reverend Archibald Campbell who held a professorship of church history at St. Andrew's and wrote *An Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue*.[3] The subject seems not to have concerned his son who, "as well for the malignancy of his heart as his terrific countenance," was nicknamed "Horrible" Campbell.[4]

Campbell's position as purser was barely respectable, and he was far from being the gentlemanly naval officer imagined and described by his only modern critic, Robert C. Whitford.[5] In fact, he sounds exactly the sort to have enjoyed and enlivened the company of a salty colonial Governor and a Highland poet who had wallowed sufficiently in the flesh-pots of Georgian London to shock even James Boswell.[6]

How "Horrible" Campbell came to West Florida is unknown. Perhaps he was attached to one of the vessels of Sir John Lindsay's command which anchored in Pensacola harbor. At any rate, Governor Johnstone, a devotee of Scot-

[3] No biographical information concerning Campbell's career has come to light beyond that set forth in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908), III, 794 and the additional evidence of his West Florida residence presented herein. He died at Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 10, 1780.

[4] G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell (eds.), *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1934), I, 360 n. 3; II, 44 n. 3.

[5] "A Little Lyttelton," *Philological Quarterly*, III, 302 (Oct., 1924).

[6] F. A. Pottle (ed.), *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763* (New York, 1950), 74.

tish poetry, welcomed the company of the officers and Campbell became sufficiently familiar with him to claim that he had "had the happiness to live with that Gentleman," had received many favors from him, and had been offered many more.[7] Whatever their relationship, it was sufficiently close for Campbell to boast of it in 1767 when he dedicated *The Sale of Authors* to the then "late Governor of Pensacola."

There seems no reason to doubt Campbell's claim of familiarity with Johnstone, and his attitude toward James Macpherson was clearly based upon personal contact. He wrote of "the Highland Homer" as "not only the best and warmest friend I myself have in the world, but also one of the worthiest and most benevolent men in it." Of Ossian's poems, he had a lower opinion. In discussing them with Johnstone, Campbell admitted to taking the critical side, though "perhaps from a spirit of opposition not uncommon, He [Johnstone] extolling them more than he might really think they deserved, and I depreciating them as much, nay affirming that I would not be bribed to read them. Which is indeed pretty nearly the case. . . ."[8]

The goading of Johnstone and the presence of Macpherson probably inspired the bored purser to try his own hand at ancient forms of literature. Taking Lucian as his model and drawing upon the literary squabbles of the day, Campbell composed a dialogue entitled *Lexiphanes* which attacked the current style of literature as dictated by Dr. Samuel Johnson. Next came *The Sale of Authors,* a satire in dramatic form which struck out at publishers as a class and such individual English authors as Thomas Gray, Charles Churchill, Laurence

7 *The Sale of Authors* (London, 1767), xiv-xv. Whitford (303-304) certainly errs in dismissing Campbell's declaration of American authorship as merely an "interesting assertion." Campbell was obviously seeking Johnstone's patronage in 1767, and doing so on the basis of their previous contact.

8 *The Sale of Authors,* xiv.

Sterne, David Garrick, and of course Johnson.[9] Campbell later claimed that he wrote some other imitations of the Roman satirist, but they have disappeared. The surviving works are filled with the sort of low wit that passed for humor in the coffee-houses of London and undoubtedly provided considerable amusement to the Britons gathered at Pensacola. Campbell claimed that they were "well known to many in that country."

In attesting to the local popularity of his *jeux d'esprits,* the author declared that

> Some friends, and one gentleman in particular, to whom I lay under many other obligations, and perhaps owed both leisure and spirits to resume some long-interrupted and well-nigh forgotten studies, thought so well of the plan, and approved of the intention so much, that they attempted getting it printed at the time and place where it was first written; and with this view, and at their request, I put it in the state it now is.

Thus was projected the printing of the colony's first and only *belles-lettres.* Unfortunately, the intention was not fulfilled; the works remained in manuscript for the time being, and two unique West Florida imprints were lost to history. Equally regrettable is Campbell's view that "how this attempt came not to succeed, is immaterial. . . ."[10] Perhaps he sailed before arrangements could be made—more likely his friends discovered that there was no printing press in British West Florida.

By 1767 "Horrible" Campbell had returned to London. *Lexiphanes* was published in March of that year, *The Sale of Authors* in June. A preface, which originally had accompanied *Lexiphanes,* had been lost at sea, together with some other of Campbell's writings, but there remained two bulky

[9] Internal evidence indicates that *The Sale of Authors* was revised for publication in London March-June, 1767, but there is no reason to doubt that the bulk of it was written in 1764-1765 in West Florida.
[10] *Lexiphanes* (London, 1767), xxvii.

pamphlets representing the literary output of West Florida. The reviews condemned them, and only the most ardent scholar would agree that "they deserve respectful consideration" in spite of their professed imitation of Lucian or their "vigorous and unconventional views of Samuel Johnson and several of his eminent contemporaries." Indeed, "there is much that is amusing, and little of permanent value" in them.[11] Publishers, however, did grant to *Lexiphanes* the honor of several editions: two were printed in London in 1767, a third in 1783, and a Dublin printing described as the fourth, but dated 1774, is listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In the Eighteenth Century, as in others, what an author wrote was not as important as whom he attacked—and the learned Dr. Johnson offered a magnificent target.

It is interesting to note that Campbell included his good friend "the Highland Homer" in *The Sale of Authors*. Mercury, in the guise of auctioneer, offers Macpherson to the Scottish booksellers, but the poet, like most of his clan, having passed the Border, shows no desire to return. 'I wad like it muckle better," he cries, "giff I were to be *relegated* among the Cherokees and the Chactaws o' North America, whare I cud study the manners of thae fôk; which I'm tald are highly epical, and sae I wad e'en write a new original epic Poem."[12]

The thought of a colonial epic by Jamie Macpherson is delightful, but the primitive beauties of West Florida inspired him only to beat a hasty retreat, and he left to Archibald Campbell the honor of standing alone as the colony's first and only creative literary figure.

11 Whitford, 302, 308.
12 Pp. 25-26.

Book Reviews

Annals of Northwest Alabama. Volume II. Compiled by Carl Elliott. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Privately Printed by SWS Printers, 1959. 288 pp. $5.00.

In the Preface of the first volume of *Annals of Northwest Alabama,* issued in January, 1958, Congressman Carl Elliott, the compiler, stated that he hoped, as the years passed, to continue publishing the local historical materials he had gathered in order that other interested persons might share his enthusiasm for "our Alabama heritage."

True to his hopes, Congressman Elliott has now published the second volume of the *Annals,* a most attractive book, replete with much information concerning the nine Alabama counties which make up the Seventh Congressional District, Blount, Cullman, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar, Marion, Pickens, Walker, and Winston. The present volume, uniform in size and format with the first, contains forty-eight more pages of text. Both volumes are handsomely printed and bound. Of the first only 750 copies were issued (the volume is now out-of-print); of the second twice as many were published.

The second volume is composed of thirty-six essays, ranging from a summary of new industries in the Seventh District to a compilation of the 1830 census of Walker County. Included are a history of the Hamilton Agricultural School, a story of "Early Days of Franklin County," a biographical sketch of Hezekiah Massey, 1822-1910, and a list of gravestone records in several Franklin County cemeteries. Eighteen pages of index bring out more than three thousand proper names, rendering the book a most valuable asset for historians and genealogists.

Congressman Elliott plans to publish additional volumes of the *Annals,* "all to the end that [they] may become a mine of usable information for those equipped to do a better job than I am of writing a complete history of this area of Alabama."

In issuing this volume Congressman Elliott has rendered a valuable service to his state and district and to Alabama history. Much if not all of the material therein would have been lost to posterity, had it not been preserved in the *Annals.* Alabama owes a debt of gratitude to the compiler who, at his own expense and without hope of financial

reward, has made this book possible. He should be given every encouragement to continue the series on an annual basis. (The *Annals* is being distributed through the Alabama Book Store, 1011-1013 University Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.)

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Cherokee County History, 1836-1956. Vols. I-II. By Mrs. Frank Ross Stewart. Birmingham, Ala.: Privately Printed by Birmingham Printing Co., 1958-1959. xx, 483pp.

These two volumes, the first of several in a proposed series entitled *Cherokee County History, 1836-1956,* consist of five chapters, paged consecutively, describing the geography, settlement, creation, Indians, and government of Cherokee County, Alabama. Included are maps and illustrations and a section on the various types of soils and minerals. The creation of Cherokee out of St. Clair County in 1836 is described, as is the selection of Centre as its county seat. The early settlement of the county is treated in a most interesting manner. A list of Confederate soldiers who were natives of Cherokee is included, as are personal letters written by the early settlers.

Unfortunately, the index in Volume II (pp. 461-483) covers Volume I only. There is no index to Volume II. This confusing situation could have been corrected, if the author had elected to issue the two volumes (actually two parts of the same volume) as one, with a complete index. Nevertheless, the study is a worthy contribution to state social and cultural history. (Copies may be purchased from the author, who resides in Centre, Ala.)

WILLIAM E. GILBERT
Jacksonville State College

Parade of Alabama. By Emma Lila Fundaburk. Luverne, Ala.: Privately Printed, 1959. 436 pp. $7.50.

Whether to write about the progress of civilization in Alabama in prose, or in verse, would not ordinarily be a hard decision to make. But when the author of such a book decides not to write in prose, then there is no certainty that the resultant way of putting words on paper will be any acceptable kind of writing. What is not prose may turn out not to be verse either: it may rather be a new

typographical deployment of words to represent the details of factual and sensuous knowledge on the pages of a book. This is perhaps a fair description of Emma Lila Fundaburk's *Parade of Alabama.* This title is a metaphor, and the book itself presumably aspires to the condition of literature partly by virtue of its special mode of composition.

But the merit of the book is to be judged apart from the manner of its writing. It is an historical survey of Alabama, organized in chronological form, beginning with a description of the Indians, and ending with a section on Twentieth Century industry: five parts, eighteen chapters, with twenty pages of notes, a bibliography, and a useful four-page index. It is filled with information on a great variety of topics, all gathered from reputable sources, both old and new: from such sources as *The Travels of William Bartram* (1791) and *The Southern Indians* by R. S. Cotterill (1954). It depends on scores of other reliable works, among which are Albert James Pickett's *History of Alabama . . .* (1851), Charles G. Summersell's *Alabama, A State History* (1955), and J. B. Sellers' *Slavery in Alabama* (1950).

For the most part the book is neither prose nor verse. But its special typographical scheme is punctuated occasionally with short units of writing in verse. On pages 12, 13, and 14 the Spanish exploration of certain new-world lands is told about in sonnets: one Petrarchan, one Shakesperean, one Spenserian. On page 177 begins a five-stanza poem about the pioneers who came into Alabama Territory just before and after its formation in 1817. The book does not belong to literature because it is not well enough imagined: it is not the realization of any fable, or story, conceived by the author to become the communication mode of the whole work. It does, however, present a considerable amount of knowledge on the subject of Alabama history, and this knowledge is made available to any interested reader through its chronological structure.

August H. Mason
University of Alabama

A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States. By Captain Fitzgerald Ross. Edited by Richard B. Harwell. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958. xxiii, 261 pp. $4.50.

In 1864, shortly after his return from America, Captain Fitzgerald Ross contributed a series of articles to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Maga-*

zine which were later published in book form as *A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States.* Now, ninety-three years later, the volume has been reprinted under the expert editorship of Richard B. Harwell, well-known writer on American Civil War subjects.

Captain Ross, an Englishman educated at the universities of Heidleberg and Göttingen, joined the Austrian Hussars in 1850 as a private. As Mr. Harwell observes, his astute appraisals of both the civilian and military Confederacy have increasing value and interest as the Civil War Centennial approaches. *A Visit . . .*, either in the original or the reprint, should be in every well-rounded Confederate collection.

WM. STANLEY HOOLE
University of Alabama

News and Notices

THE ALABAMA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
SELMA, ALABAMA, FRIDAY-SATURDAY, APRIL 22-23, 1960

PROGRAM

Friday, April 22

(Sessions at St. Paul's Episcopal Church)

8:00 Registration

10:00 Opening Assembly—Margaret Pace Farmer, President, Alabama Historical Association, presiding
Invocation—The Rev. T. Frank Mathews, Rector, St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Welcome—Hon. Chris. B. Heinz, Mayor of Selma
Response—Judge C. J. Coley, Alexander City
Appointment of Committees
Announcements—Judge James A. Hare, Chairman, Local Arrangements Committee

10:30 Morning Session (A)—
An Archaeological Search for the Indian Village of Coosa—David L. DeJarnette, Moundville
Thomas C. DeLeon, Blind Author of Alabama—Mrs. Ruffin Durham, Fairhope

10:30 Morning Session (B)—
Tuscaloosa's Confederate Generals—DeVane K. Jones, Tuscaloosa
William C. Jordan and Reconstruction in Bullock County—Dr. H. E. Sterkx, Troy State College

10:30 Morning Session (C)—
Alabama Food Ways—Miss Sallie Hill, Birmingham
William LeRoy Broun: Soldier, Scientist and Pioneer in Agricultural and Industrial Education in the South—Dr. Malcolm C. McMillan, Auburn University

1:30 Afternoon Session (A)—
Miss Howard Weeden, Poet and Artist—Mrs. Burton Fiske, Huntsville
"Come Unto Me . . . ," A Brief History of St. Paul's—The Rev. T. Frank Mathews, Selma

1:30 Afternoon Session (B)—
Selma and the Confederate States Navy—William N. Still, Mississippi State College for Women
Canoeing on the Coosa—Marvin B. Small, Gadsden

1:30 Afternoon Session (C)—
Henry Ford and Muscle Shoals—Dr. Leslie S. Wright, Howard College
Early Selma—Col. Joseph R. Bibb, Selma

3:00 Tour of Historic Homes in Selma

4:30 Tea at the Sturdivant Museum

7:15 Buffet Supper Session—Officers' Club, Craig Air Force Base
Grace—The Rev. Chilton F. Thornington, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Selma
Presentation of Speaker—
Presidential Address—*History as a Hobby*—Margaret Pace Farmer
Film—*Mobile, City of the Old South*—Compliments, Mobile Junior Chamber of Commerce

Saturday, April 23

(Sessions in Albert G. Parrish High School)

8:00 Registration

9:30 Opening Assembly—Main Auditorium
Reports of Secretary, Treasurer, Membership Committee, Editor of *The Alabama Review,* and Marker Committee
Announcements

10:30 Morning Session (A)—
Alabama Fights the Free Soilers in the Thirty-First Congress—Carlton Jackson, Alabama College
Early Days in East Alabama—Nella Jean Chambers, Cusseta (to be read by William H. Davidson, West Point, Ga.)

10:30 Morning Session (B)—
Geography of the Vine and Olive Colony—Hamner Cobbs, Greensboro
William Patrick Lay, Pioneer of Hydro-Electric Power—DeWitt Robinson, Gadsden

10:30 Morning Session (C)—
Fort Toulouse in Tradition and in Fact—Dr. Daniel H. Thomas, University of Rhode Island, Kingston
Charles Crow, 1775-1845, Pioneer Baptist Minister—Dr. Howard L. Holley, Medical College of Alabama
This is War: The Odyssey of Corporal Wesley L. Roberts and the 31st Alabama Infantry During the Civil War—Dr. Thomas A. Belser, Jr., Auburn University

12:15 Luncheon Session—Albert G. Parrish High School
Grace—Dr. J. Thad Ellisor, Pastor, Church Street Methodist Church, Selma
Presentation of Speaker—
The Approach of War in 1860—Stanley F. Horn, Nashville, Tenn.
Reports of Time and Place Committee and Resolutions Committee
Election of Officers
Adjournment

Members and their friends are especially invited to visit Cahaba on Saturday afternoon. The invitation is extended by members of the Cahaba Commission. Cahaba, the site of Alabama's first permanent capital, is now a showplace of historic interest.

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John A. Wyeth's *Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest,* originally published in 1899 and reissued in 1908, has been reprinted by Harper & Brothers, New York City ($6.95). The new edition, edited by Henry S. Commager, contains 52 illustrations and 21 maps. Chapter XVIII is entitled "Forrest's Raid into Northern Alabama and Central Tennessee, from September 16 to October 16, 1864."

* * *

Elizabeth Winston Sheehan is the author of *Battle at the Bend,* a 17-stanza blank-verse poem describing the March 27, 1814 conflict between Andrew Jackson's army and the Creek Indians on the Talla-

poosa River. Copies may be had from the author, 736 Cloverdale Rd., Montgomery 6, Ala.

* * *

Bert Henderson of Montgomery was recently commissioned poet laureate of Alabama by Governor John Patterson. He was chosen for the honor last June by the Alabama Writers Conclave.

* * *

Colonel Harry M. Ayers, editor of the Anniston *Star,* has nominated the late Senator John T. Morgan for Alabama's place in the National Hall of Fame. "Soldier, scholar, statesman, and patriot," Morgan was born in Tennessee and moved to Calhoun County, Alabama in 1833. He was a strong advocate of the Nicaraguan canal route and rose from the rank of private to brigadier general during the War Between the States.

* * *

New officers of the Pike County Historical Society are President John Walters, Vice President Bernice T. Smith, Treasurer Myrtle Corley, Secretary Margaret Farmer, Corresponding Secretary Eunice Davison, and Keeper of the Records Elizabeth Hilliard. The Executive Committee is composed of the officers and Mary Lamb and James E. Tate.

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The faculty of Birmingham-Southern College recently announced the institution of the Henry Thomas Shanks Memorial Collection in American History. Dr. Shanks, late dean of the College and head of the Department of History and Political Science, was a long-time member of the faculty at Birmingham-Southern, having been appointed to that body in 1929. Contributions received will be placed in an endowment fund, the interest from which will be used to purchase suitable books for the collection.

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The first number of *The Journal of the Birmingham Historical Society,* edited by Charles S. Fell and Mary McGriff Washington, was issued in January, 1960. It contains five short articles on the economic history of Jefferson County in the 1930's and a foreword by Frank E. Lankford, president of the society. The *Journal* is to be published annually ($2.00). Inquiries should be sent to James J. Monaghan, P. O. Box 5749, Birmingham.

Seventy-three persons registered attendance at the first annual Alabama Baptist Historical Workshop held on April 9, 1959, at Howard College Library. Preparation of records, research, writing and publishing church histories were discussed in panel sessions. Several officers of the Alabama Historical Association participated in the program.

A collection of not less than 25,000 business papers from a law firm, representing three generations of Willett's in Anniston, has been deposited in the Howard College Library. Considerable portions of the collection relate to Alabama's industrial development, particularly in Birmingham and Anniston areas.